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MEMOIRS

OF

A CAPTIVITY

IN

JAPAN,

DURING THE YEARS 1811, 1812, and 1813,

WITH

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.

BY

CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN,

OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY.

SECOND EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

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Golownin

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PREFACE

TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE Narrative of my Captivity in Japan has sufficiently proved that the means which I had in my power to collect information, respecting that people and the Empire, were defective and extremely limited; it would therefore be superfluous for me to make any apology. I merely think it necessary to remark, that I have taken the greater part of the following notices respecting Japan from conversations with our interpreters and guards; but as it frequently happened that they contradicted each other entirely, in the accounts they gave, I considered it as my duty to set down, in my remarks, only such things as were confirmed by the concurrent testimony of several Japanese. If Japan were better known to the Europeans than it really is, I could not have ventured to annex to my Narrative such imperfect and insufficient ac-

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counts of this remarkable Empire. But in the actual state of our knowledge of Japan I may hope that the public will receive them with indulgence.

Notwithstanding the conciseness of my remarks, I have thought it better to divide them under several heads :—

I. Geographical Situation, Climate, and Extent.

II. Origin of the Japanese Nation.

III. Religion and Religious Customs.

IV. National Character, Civilization, and Language.

V. Government of the Empire.

VI. Laws and Customs.

VII. Productions of the Country; Trade and Commerce.

VIII. Population and Military Force; and lastly,

IX. People who pay tribute to the Japanese, and Colonies.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THE circumstances detailed, and so modestly put forth in the Author's Preface, first suggested the idea of comparing Captain Golownin's RECOLLECTIONS with the various extensive details handed down to us, from the first period of European intercourse with Japan, to the present day. The result of this examination exhibits Japan as presenting the spectacle of a nation advancing to a certain point in civilization, and there becoming stationary, at least in science and domestic arts; though perhaps retrograding in morals and even in civil liberty—a fact highly deserving the attention of the politician and the statistical economist, and pointedly demanding every illustration that former writers can supply.

There can be no doubt that the extraordinary fact, here adverted to, may be partly accounted for, in consequence of the suppression of christianity in that country, and the jealous prohibition,

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amounting almost to a total interdict, of all intercourse with foreign nations, from whence, had they been permitted, might have flowed an amelioration of the moral relations and a greater portion of political freedom, that would have produced more social happiness than can possibly exist in a country where, though few are actually in absolute distress and pauperism, yet there are but two classes, the noble and ignoble, without the gradations of rank and wealth which so happily, yet almost imperceptibly, link together the extremes of society in the British Empire. But, other causes may also have operated; many of which will be found in the multifarious notes drawn from sources whose accuracy cannot be doubted, but which to general readers are little known. In the selection of these, the strictest impartiality has been observed. In general, facts alone have been attended to. These are set both in apposition and opposition to Captain Golownin's details, and tend much to corroborate the accuracy of his Recollections; whilst, in regard to points interesting in themselves, but respecting which, circumstances precluded him from being sufficiently diffuse, they

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have been made available for general illustration and the gratification of public curiosity.

Thunberg, the latest writer, with the exception of our present author, observes that the Empire of Japan is in many respects a singular country, and with regard to customs and institutions, totally different from Europe: but, notwithstanding this is generally true, it is not the less remarkable, that many of their institutions, and much of their manners, as will be seen more at large in the accompanying notes, are absolutely fac-similes of our own feudal times, and demonstrate the existence of that system to a much greater extent than our ablest writers have hitherto imagined; at the same time, corroborating the similarity frequently noticed between Japan and Great Britain, and opening a wide field of speculation for the spirit of political prophecy, whenever an unrestricted intercourse shall exist between that country and the world at large. But, it may be asked, of what importance is Japan to us?—a country with which we have no political or commercial intercourse—Let it be remembered, however, that we once held an intimate correspondence with that country; a

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correspondence broken up for reasons that no longer exist, and checked, in the attempt to renew it, by circumstances which have long ceased to operate.

It becomes, therefore, a point more than probable, that an intercourse with that very extensive Empire may again exist; an intercourse valuable to both nations, and much to be hoped for at the present crisis. A direct commerce of this country with Japan, if established under honorable circumstances, could not fail to be highly advantageous in general, but especially with respect to the fur-trade on the American coast. Forty years ago, the Russian merchants at Kamtschatka could afford thirty roubles for a sea-otter's skin, which eventually was to find its way to the Japan market, by a most expensive and circuitous route; as they must first be carried to Kiatcha, on the Chinese frontier, where the native merchant purchases them at cent per cent; a profit little enough to reimburse a land-carriage of 1364 miles through a desert country. From Kiatcha the skins are carried 760 miles further to Pekin, and thence to Japan! what profits might not then be expected by an English trader going at once with her cargo of

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furs from Nootka Sound and its vicinity, to the Japanese out-ports, where a vessel of 20 guns, well manned, and judiciously and cautiously directed, might bid defiance to their whole naval force. From the jealousy and timidity of the Japanese a first visit might not be very successful; but in a short time there might be established an intercourse much more profitable than our former force-trade on the Spanish main. These considerations are a sufficient inducement to offer, particularly to the commercial world, a brief sketch of the first opening of the Japan trade in the 17th century, of its decline and stoppage, of a subsequent unsuccessful attempt of renewal, of the mode and means of future intercourse, and of the probable advantages that may result from it. It may therefore be observed, that English nautical enterprize had already begun to manifest itself in voyages of discovery and warfare, and in mercantile speculation to India and the oriental islands; and intelligence of the very lucrative trade carried on by Spain, Portugal, and Holland, with Japan, had induced the India merchants, early in the reign of James the first, to prepare an expedition to that

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country; when circumstances of a most favorable nature took place by the arrival of an Englishman at the Japanese court, who acted as an ambassador, though unaccredited, and proved to be of essential service in the establishment of the first attempts at trade.

This person, William Adams, had been a master in the navy in the reign of Elizabeth, and afterwards was in the employ of the Barbary company; but, being actuated by a desire to acquire a knowledge of the Indian navigation, he engaged as pilot on board the Admiral's ship of a fleet of five sail, fitted out by the Dutch India Company. They sailed from the Texel in 1598, passed through the straits of Magellan towards the South-Sea in 1599, cruized for some time on the coasts of Peru and Chili, half mercantile, half piratical, but being at length obliged to leave the coast, they resolved, having a large part of their cargo in woollen cloth, to proceed to Japan, to which they were advised by a man who had been there with the Portuguese, their cargo being more likely to find a sale there, than at the Moluccas, or in the

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other parts of India with which they were acquainted.

From the unfortunate events of their voyage they were reduced to one ship, and at their arrival on the coast of Japan on the 19th of April 1600, there were only seven persons, including Adams, who were capable of duty. On approaching the shore of Bongo, they had only strength to let go an anchor, when a number of Japanese boats went on board of them, the crews of which, though they offered no personal violence, stole every thing they could lay their hands on. This was, however, soon put a stop to; for the king, or chief, sent soldiers on board the next day to protect the property, and shortly afterwards assisted the crew to to carry the vessel into a safe harbour, there to remain, until orders should be received from the Emperor respecting her disposal. At the same time, the greatest kindness was shewn to them; the people were allowed to land, and an hospital was provided for the sick, with every kind of refreshment for those who were still well. It is a curious fact, that a jealousy of English interference in the Japan trade even now began to manifest itself,

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though there were but two Englishmen on board the ship—William Adams, and Timothy Shotten also engaged as pilot, and who had been round the world with Candish—for a jesuit and some other Portuguese from Nangasaki having paid them a visit, these very conscientious gentlemen assured the Japanese, that the English were not merchants but pirates, which gave both the chief and the common people such a very bad impression of these two helpless individuals, that they expected every hour to be crucified, as a punishment for their alledged crimes. Nor were the Dutchmen backward in aiding the Portuguese in their nefarious designs, two of these entering into the Japanese service, claiming all the property on board the ship, disclosing every secret to the Portuguese, and doing all in their power to injure the English cause.

A short time after their arrival, an order came for Adams to go to the court, where by means of a Japanese that could speak Portuguese, the Emperor asked him numberless questions respecting England, his religion, the political state of Europe, the route by which he had arrived, &c. This in-

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terview lasted several hours, during which Adams informed the Emperor, that England was at war with Spain and Portugal; and, when his Majesty was about to retire, he had the good sense and patriotism to entreat, that the English might be granted the same commercial privileges as the Portuguese and Spaniards. To this the Emperor answered; but Adams understood it not; another examination of him took place, two days afterwards, in which he gave the most rational answers to all the Imperial queries, assuring his majesty that he came not so great a distance, from any treacherous design, but from the general disposition of his nation, "which was to cultivate friendship and commerce with all other countries by exchanging their own commodities for theirs, whereby, mutual riches and advantages were obtained." After this, Adams received better treatment; but was detained six weeks in confinement, during which time, the jesuits and other Portuguese, used all means of vilifying the English, saying, that they were a company of thieves and robbers gathered out of all nations, and that if these men were suffered to live, it would turn out greatly

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to the disadvantage of Japan, since every other nation would come on purpose to rob the country; but, if justice were to be administered, it would deter the English from coming there any more. The Emperor answered very coolly to these representations, that as yet these strangers had done no damage to him or his subjects, and therefore, it was against reason and justice to put them to death —a reply which, in some measure, silenced their enemies; and which was followed by a most friendly patronage of Adams on the part of the Emperor, whom he gratified most highly by building for him, a vessel of eighty tons, on the English model, and even by teaching such parts of geometry and mathematics, as he himself was acquainted with.

In 1605, Adams, anxious to return to his country again, requested the Emperor to permit his return, promising that he would engage both the English and Dutch to open a commerce with Japan; the Emperor however refused to part with him, but answered that he was desirous that both nations should come and trade there, directing him at the same time, to write home for that purpose,

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and also to address such of his countrymen as might be in any part of India. In consequence of this, Adams wrote several letters and gave them in charge to the Dutch captain who was permitted to leave Japan; but he, after arriving at Malacca, was killed in an action with the Portuguese, and Adams remained without any communication with his countrymen until 1611, when hearing that some English merchants were at the island of Java, he wrote to them a letter, "To my unknown friends and countrymen."

This letter, when brought to Bantam, on the 28th of October 1612, was delivered to captain John Saris and his companions, and, "was read to all the merchants, that they might take notice of the hopes there were of trade in that country" (Japan).

Captain Saris, with three ships, had sailed from the Downs in April 1611, and proceeded to visit all the European parts on the eastern coast of Africa, thence to Mocha in Arabia, and his arrival at Bantam took place in October 1612. In January 1612–13, he sailed from Bantam, bound for Japan, with one ship only, manned with only

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twenty-four Englishmen, one Spaniard, one Japanese, and five Indians: and it appears that the principal part of his cargo consisted of seven hundred sacks of pepper, by way of trial. It is needless to follow him in his route through the islands until he arrived off Japan, the coast of which was seen, for the first time by an English ship, on the 9th of June 1613: and on the 11th he anchored at Firando, a small island lying off the west coast of Bongo, or Xicoco, where he was received in the most friendly manner by the King, as he calls him, *Foyne Sama*, and by all the nobility and people.

On a visit of ceremony which the king paid to him on board his ship, Captain Saris delivered a letter from King James, which was received with great satisfaction; but the king declined opening it until Adams, who was sent for, should be present as interpreter.

The Dutch at this period, (first in 1609) had a factory at Firando, and the chief Kenrick Brower "came aboard, to visit the General (Saris), or rather to see what passed between the king and them." Saris afterwards wrote to Adams; and, by the same opportunity, acquainted the Emperor

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with his being arrived, and upon what business he came. On the 13th Saris delivered his presents to the king, amounting in value to about 140*l.*, amongst which was a large cup: this the king ordered to be filled with sakki, and drank it off to the health of the King of England. Several days now passed in mutual friendship and good offices, notwithstanding the measures which had already been taken by some of our good friends to prejudice the Japanese against us. Purchas relates, that on the 29th, "a soma, or junke of the Flemings arrived at Nangasaki from Siam, laden with Brazil-wood and skins of all sorts, wherein it was said that there were Englishmen, but proved to be Flemings. For that before our coming, they passed generally by the name of Englishmen; for our English nation had been long known by report among them, but much scandalized by the Portuguese jesuits, as pirates, and rovers upon the seas; so that the naturals have a song which they call the English crofonia, shewing how the English do take the Spanish ships, which they (singing) do act likewise in gesture with their cattans by their sides, with which song and acting, they terrify

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their children, as the French sometimes did theirs with the name of the Lord Talbot."

Another circumstance also happened, which deserves the attention of those who shall first endeavour to renew the commerce with Japan, in English ships—" The first of July, two of our company happened to quarrel, the one with the other, and were very likely to have gone into the field, to the endangering of us all. For it is a custom here, that whosoever draws a weapon in anger although he do no harm therewith, he is presently cut in pieces; and, doing but small hurt, not only themselves are so executed, but their whole generation."

Pending the return of an answer from the Emperor, Captain Saris was preparing to open his commercial transactions, and in the course of his enquiries, he ascertained that part of his cargo, consisting of broad cloths, was likely to fetch a good price, the Duth then selling cloths, which had only cost fifteen, or sixteen pounds per piece, at the enormous profit of eight pounds for two and a half yards, there called a *mat*. He was aware that the Dutch had a considerable quantity in their

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warehouses; and, though he could well have afforded to undersell them in the market, yet he chose to act a more liberal part towards them, by proposing to the chief of their factory, that a price should be mutually fixed on, below which, neither party was to fall. "In the morning he seemed to approve thereof, but ere night, sent word that he disliked it, excusing himself that he had no warrant from his masters to make any such agreement. The next morning, he shipped away great store of cloth to divers islands, rating them at these prices, viz, at twenty, eighteen, and sixteen rials the mat," (instead of *forty* the former price,) "that he might procure the more speedy dispatch of his own, and glut the place before the coming of ours."

It may be useful to future speculators, to present a slight view of the value of leading articles of commerce at that period—Bantam pepper, ungarbled, which cost at Bantam about one and three-fourth rials, or five shillings and two pence per sack, was worth, at Japan, two pounds ten shillings; tin, per pecul of 130 pounds, was worth two pounds ten shillings; elephants' teeth, per pecul,

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twenty pounds; iron, cast in pigs, one pound ten shillings; gun-powder, five pounds fifteen shillings; Socotrine aloes, one pound ten shillings per cattee, of about twelve ounces; a fowling piece five pounds; and Indian calicoes, at proportionate prices according to their quality.

The arrival of an English ship soon spread far and wide; and several of the neighbouring princes, particularly the *King* of Goto, came to Firando to gratify their curiosity, and to request the Englishmen might proceed to their several islands where they should receive the heartiest welcome: and, at the close of the month of July, William Adams made his appearance, and informed captain Saris "who conferred with him in the presence of the merchants, touching the encouragement he could give of trade in those parts, that it was not always alike, but sometimes better, sometimes worse, yet doubted not, but we should do as well as others; giving admirable commendations of the country, as much affected thereto."

A circumstance now took place, connected with the progress of Northern discovery, which has not generally been noticed by writers on that subject.

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Captain Saris says—"this day there came to Firando, certain Spaniards of Mr. Adams's acquaintance, to desire passage in our ship for Bantam. These Spaniards had been belonging to a Spanish gentleman their General, who, about a year past, were come (upon the King of Spain's charge), from Nova Hispania, to discover to the northward of Japan, and arriving at Edoo, attending the monsoon to go to the northward, which beginneth in the end of May, his company, (whereof these were two) mutinied against him, every one taking his own way, leaving the ship utterly unmanned, wherefore I thought it best to keep them out of my ship."

Preparations were now made for a journey to court, which the king of Firando was so certain would be permitted, nay desired, that he offered to supply all the boats, horses, and provisions necessary, and requested a list of those who were to go, in order that he might do it in the handsomest manner possible. If we compare these presents with the modern ones to the Chinese Emperors, the contrast is very striking. Those for the Emperor amounted only to eighty-seven

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pounds seven shillings and si-xpence; for his son to forty-three pounds fifteen shillings; and the remainder, for different officers of state; merely raised the sum total to one hundred and eighty pounds three shillings and ten-pence!

On the 7th of August captain Saris set off for the Japanese court, accompanied by ten Englishmen, but attended by a sufficient retinue, and proceeded through a populous country, partly by boats, and soon arrived at a town called Fuccate, where he "did land and dine there in the towne, the tyde and wind so strong against us, as that we could not passe. The towne seemed to be as greate as London is within the walls, very well built, and even, so as you may see from the one end of the street to the other. The place is exceedingly peopled, very civil and courteous, only that at our landing, and being here in Fuccate, and so through the whole country, whithersoever we came, the boys, children, and worser sort of idle people, would gather about and follow after us crying, *Core, Core, Cocore ware;* that is to say, *you Coreans with false hearts*: wondering, whooping, hollowing, and making such a noise about us,

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that we could scarcely hear one another speak; sometimes throwing stones at us (but that not in many towns), yet the clamour and crying after us was every where alike, none reproving them for it. The best advice that I can give those who hereafter shall arrive there, is that they pass on without regarding those idle rabblements, and in so doing, they shall find their ears only troubled with the noise." This is, no doubt, wholesome advice; but it is a species of treatment to which Englishmen will not willingly submit. Indeed a trade with Japan would never repay us, if it were to be purchased with the humiliations to which the Dutch have for so many years submitted: for, according even to Thunberg's own account, the ambassador and his suite were treated more like dancing dogs than men, and forced to act as such, for the amusement of the Emperor and the ladies of his court: but these unpleasant demands, if properly denied at first, and that denial enforced by the presence of a British squadron, would not again be repeated. Whatever we attempt, our measures must be prompt and decisive; and cannot be at-

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tended by the same difficulties as have always thwarted our embassies to China.

The Japanese court, at this period, were at Surunga, where captain Saris arrived early in September, and the account of his reception, in his own words, cannot fail to be interesting.

" As soon as we were settled in our lodgings, in Surunga, I sent master Adams to the court, to let the secretaries understand of my coming, and desire of as speedie dispatch as might be; word was returned that I was welcome, that I should rest me, and within a day or two, I should have access to the Emperor. The seventh was spent in fitting up of the presents, and providing little tables of slit deal of that country, (which smelleth very sweet), to carrie them uponne according to the custom.

" The eighth I was carried in my palanquin to the castle of Surunga, (where the Emperor kept his court) and was attended with my merchants, and others carrying the presents before me. Being entered the castle, I passed three draw-bridges, every of which had a corps of guard, and coming up a paire of verie faire and large stone staires,

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was met by two grave comely men, the one of them *Codskadonu*, the Emperor's secretarie, the other *Fuegodono*, the admiral, who led me into a faire roome matted, where we sat down crosse-legged upon the mats. Anon they led me betwixt them into the chamber of Presence, where was the Emperor's chaire of state, to which they wished me to do reverence. It was of cloth of gold, about five feet high, very richly set forthe for backe and sides, but had no canopie over head. Then they returned back againe to the place where they did sit, where having stayed about one quarter of an houre word was brought that the Emperor was come forth. Then they rose up, and led me betwixt them to the doore of the roome where the Emperor was, making signes that I should enter in there, but durst not look in themselves. The presents sent from our King to the Emperor, as also those which (according to the custom of the country), I gave unto the Emperor as from myselfe, were placed in the said roome, upon the mats very orderly, before the Emperor came into it. Coming to the Emperor, *according to our English compliments*, I delivered our King's letter

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unto his Majestie, who tooke it in his hand, and put it up towards his forehead, and commanded his interpreter, who sate a good distance from him behind, to will master Adams to tell me, that I was welcome from a wearisome journey, that I should take my rest for a day or two, and that his answer should be readie for our King. Then he asked me whether I did not intend to visit his sonne at Edoo. I answered, I did. The Emperor said, that order should be taken to furnish mee with men and horses for the journey, and against my return his letters should be readie for our King. So taking my leave of the Emperor, and coming to the door where I had left the secretarie and the admiral, &c."

Thus ended his first interview, and in such a way as no Englishman could possibly be insulted by, even as ambassador; and on the ensuing day, captain Saris " delivered the articles of priviledge to Codskedonu, being in number fourteene. He requested to have them abbreviated, and made as short as might be; for that the people of Japan affect brevitie. The tenth, the articles so abridged, were sent by master Adams to the secretarie, who

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shewed them to the Emperor, and he approved thereof, denying one only which was, That whereas the Chinese had refused to trade with the English, that in case we should now take any of them by force, that our nation might have leave and liberty to bring them into Japan, and there make sale of the goods so taken. At the first motion, the Emperor answered, that seeing they denyed us trade, we might take them. But upon conference with the Liegar of China, the Emperor's mind was changed, and would not allow that article. The rest were passed under his greate seale, which is not of waxe (as ours), but stamped like a print and coloured red."

The probable future importance of these articles, cannot fail to justify their insertion here.

"Privileges granted by OGOSHOSAMA, Emperor of Japan, unto the Right Worshipful SIR THOMAS SMITH, Knight, Governor, and others the Honourable and Worshipful Adventurers to the East Indies.

I. *Imprimis*, We give free licence to the subjects of the King of Great Britain, viz, Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, and Company of the East

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Indian merchants and adventurers, for ever safely to come into any of our ports of our empire of Japan, with their shippes and merchandizes, without any hindrance to them or their goods. And to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their owne manner, with all nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasures.

II. *Item*, We grant unto them freedom of custom, for all such merchandizes as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring into our kingdome, or shall from hence transport to any foreign part. And doe authorize those shippes that hereafter shall arrive, and come from England, to proceed to present sale of their commodities, *without further coming or sending up to our court.*

III. *Item*, If any of their shippes shall happen to lie in danger of shipwrecke, we will our subjects not only to assist them, but that such part of shippes and goods as shall be saved, be returned to their captains, or Cape merchants or their assignes. And that they shall, or may build one house or more for themselves in any part of our

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empire, where they shall thinke fittest and at their departure to make sale thereof at their pleasure.

IV. *Item*, If any of the English merchants, or other, shall depart this life, within our dominions, the goods of the deceased, shall remaine at the disposal of the Cape merchant. And that all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said Cape merchant, according to his discretion: and our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.

V. *Item*, We will that ye, our subjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same, according to agreement, without delay, or returne of their wares again unto them.

VI. *Item*, For such commodities as they have now brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for our service and proper use; We will, that no arrest be made thereof, but that the price be made with the Cape merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

VII. *Item*, If in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their shippes, they shall

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heede men or victuals, We will, that ye our subjects, furnish them for their money, as their needs shall require.

VIII. *Item*, And that without other passeport, they shall, and may set out upon the discovery of Yeadzo, or any other part in or about our empire.

From our castle in Surunga, the first day of ninth month, and in the eighteenth year of our Dary, according to our computation. Sealed with our broad Seale.

Underwritten,

MINNA MOTTONO

Yei. Ye. Yeas."

Terms so favorable, and so freely granted, manifest an anxious wish on the part of the Emperor and his people, to open a commercial communication with England. That a similar spirit would manifest itself, provided existing prejudices could be removed, is equally to be expected—let us then look forward with hope, and in the meantime return to Saris's transactions, who, on the day after the granting of these articles, delivered all his subordinate presents, especially to the mint-

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master, the Emperor's own merchant, accompanied by a list of the prices of all the English commodities.

On the 12th, Saris set out for Edoo or Jeddo, to visit the heir apparent, where they arrived two days afterwards, and were received in the most friendly manner, their presents received and others returned, particularly for the King of England. Captain Saris now left Jeddo for Surunga, where he received numerous presents for King James, accompanied by the following Imperial letter:—

"*To the* KINGE *of Great-Britaine:*

Your Majesty's kind letter sent me by your servant Captain John Saris, (who is the first that I have knowne to arrive in any part of my dominions) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to understand of your great wisdom and power, as having three plentiful and mighty Kingdomes under your powerful command. I acknowledge your majesties great bountie in sending mee so undeserved a present of many rare things, such as my land afforded not, neither have I ever before

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seene: which I receive not as from a stranger, but as from your majestie whom I esteeme as myselfe. Desiring the continuance of friendship with your Highnesse: and that it may stand with your good liking, to send your subjects to any part or parts of my dominions, where they shall be most heartily welcome, applauding much their worthinesse in the admirable knowledge of navigation, having with much facilitie discovered a countrie so remote, being no whit amazed with the distance of so mightie a gulfe, nor greatnesse of such infinite clouds and storms, from prosecuting honorable enterprizes, of discoveries and merchandizing; wherein they shall find mee to further them, according to their desires. I returne unto your majestie a small token of my love (by your said subject), desiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much rejoiceth in your friendship. And, whereas your majesties subjects have desired certaine privileges for trade, and settling of a factory in my dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the same unto them, under my broad seale, for better establishing thereof. From my castle of Surunga, this fourth

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day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth year of our Dary, according to our computation. Resting your majesties friend. The highest commander in this kingdom of Japan.

(*Subscribed*) MINNA MOTTONO.

Yei. Ye. Yeas."

On the receipt of these documents, Saris prepared for departing from Surunga, on his return to Firando, and in the mean time a Spanish ambassador arrived there, from the Philippines, who was very coldly received; his demand being, that all Spaniards and Portuguese then at Japan without the King of Spain's licence, should be delivered up to him to carry to Manilla. It was believed, that this demand was made for the purpose of procuring men for the defence of Manilla, against an expected attack of the Dutch: but the Japanese Emperor did not consider the demand a justifiable one, and his answer was, that Japan was a free country, therefore, none should be forced out of it, but if the ambassador could persuade any to go with him, they should not be prevented.

On the 9th of October, Saris set out for his ship, well pleased with the happy success of his

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embassy, which was indeed the more remarkable, as, only a month previous to his arrival, the Emperor, being displeased with the Christians, and the catholic missionaries, had issued a decree, that all the converts should remove to Nangasaki; and that no christian church should stand, nor mass be sung, within ten leagues of his court, upon pain of death. The extreme facility of conversion, in Japan at that period, is exemplified by Saris, in an anecdote which he relates of twenty-seven of the native converts, men of high rank, having assembled in a leprous hospital, for privacy, when a mass was celebrated. The Emperor hearing of this, ordered them to be confined for one night in a prison, and then put to death. In the mean time, another Japanese, (not a convert), was put into the same prison for debt, on the very evening of their committal, and the next morning, when the officers of justice arrived for their victims, ordering those that were Christians to come forth to execution, and those who were not, to stay behind, this man was so affected by the exhortation of his christian companions, that he resolutely came out with the rest, and was crucified with them. Many similar

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stories have been told by the Jesuits; but these appear to have come within Saris's own observation.

On his return he seems to have been treated handsomely, except at Osaca, where he and his companions were again insulted by the mob who called them Josin, or Chinese, flinging stones as before, in which they were encouraged by the people of highest rank in the place.

Arriving at Firando, his welcome was as friendly as ever; but he found that very few goods had been sold, and that only privately, in consequence of the general custom, that no stranger should be permitted to offer goods to sale, without the express Imperial permission: and here the following extract is not unimportant. "Besides our chiefest commoditie intended for these parts, being broad cloth, the natives were now more backward to buy than before, because, they saw that wee ourselves were no forwarder in weering the thing, which wee recommended unto them. For, said they, you commend your cloath unto us, but you, yourselves, wear leest thereof, the better sort of you wearing silken garments, the

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meaner, fustians, &c. Whereupon, hoping that good counsel may (though late) come to some good purpose, I wish that our nation would be more forward to use and spend the natural commodities of our own country, so shall wee better encourage and allure others to the entertainments and expence thereof."

Saris was much annoyed at this period with quarrels amongst his people, several of whom went on shore for the purpose of fighting, but were happily prevented; for old King *Foyne* told him plainly, that if any came on shore to fight, and shed blood in his country, he would order them to be cut in pieces, as he could not permit that Englishmen, in that point, should have more licence t an his own subjects.

It was now determined to establish a factory at Firando, to which Saris says, he and his coadjutors were prompted by the following reasons:—the great encouragement which they recently understood, had been afforded to the English in the Moluccas—the existence of a Dutch factory at the place—the privileges obtained from the Emperor —the certain advice of English factories at Siam,

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and other places in the vicinity—and the quantity of goods yet remaining unsold, on which it was hoped that a considerable future profit might be realized. Mr. Richard Cocks was appointed Captain and Cape merchant of the factory, and had with him seven Englishmen, three Japanese interpreters, and two servants; Adams being one of the Englishmen, and next in rank to Cocks, with a salary of one hundred pounds per annum. Saris next received a letter from the King of Firando, addressed to the King of England, expressive of his high satisfaction at the arrival of English ships, and promising to render the factory every service in his power: and on the 4th of December, he sailed for England, where he drew up a list of such articles as he considered most likely to suit the Japan trade, for the use of the India Company.

These were broad cloths, black, yellow and red; fine baizes of same colours, well napped: serges; silk grograms and camblets; velvets; musk, sold for its weight in silver; India cloths, satins; damasks; Holland cloths; diaper; thread of all colours; carpets for tables; gilded leather painted with pictures and flowers; painted pictures,

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especially of a warlike nature by sea or land; quick-silver; vermilion; paint and cosmetics; copper, in plates; lead, in small bars; lead, in thin sheets; tin, in blocks; iron; steel; tapestry; leaf-gold; gold-twist or sewing gold; sugar in candy, and in powder; gauzes; raw silk; silk-thread; glass of all kinds; salt; blank-paper books; Spanish soap; amber; silk stockings; fine leather; glove leather; candle-wax; honey; pepper; spices; drugs, especially columbo root; coloured wood for cabinet ware; elephants' tusks; harts' horns, gilded; roche-alum, &c.

The returns he stated to consist of hemp; blue dye-stuffs, almost as good as indigo; various other dye-stuffs; brimstone; cotton; wool; and rice.

The factory being established, trade was carried on upon a liberal footing, under the protection of the chiefs of Firando, whom our merchants there called the old and young Kings. Junks were purchased and employed in trade with Siam, and other places, under the command of Adams; and in the mean time the Emperor published his decree, previous to 1614, banishing all Jesuits,

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priests, friars and nuns out of Japan, shipping some of them for Macao, and others for Manilla, and burning all the churches and monasteries; but without any molestation to the English factory. A civil war was also on the point of breaking out, which induced the Emperor to purchase their military stores, and lead; besides a quantity of their cloths. It was further stated, in a letter written by Cocks to Saris, dated 10th of December 1614, that the stipulations respecting relief from all further visits to the Emperor was broken through, as every ship on her arrival "must carry a present to the Emperor as a custom; neither can we set out any Junks, without procuring the yearly licence of the Emperor, otherwise no Japan mariner dare go out of Japan upon pain of death, only our owne shippes from England may come in, and goe out againe, when they will, and no man gainsay it."

Cocks further spoke of the difficulty of opening a trade with Corea: indeed at this period we had no communication with China, and Cocks in another letter to a friend said, that the good report and fame which the English nation

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had obtained since the establishment of a factory, and which had found its way to the Chinese court, was likely to open an intercourse with that country.

During the years 1615 and 16, the factors at Firando were not only engaged in the Japanese traffic, but also busily employed in carrying on an intercourse with Siam, the Loo Choo Islands, and indeed under the immediate patronage of the Emperor, who seems to have admitted the most friendly intervention of the English in many points, whilst the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and even the Dutch were treated with coldness and disrespect. It appears, however, from a letter written by the chief of the factory, in February 1617, that some of their commercial objects were yet unattained, as he says "wee have beene this yeare againe before the Emperor of Japan, but cannot get our privileges enlarged; but trade only at Firando and Langasqué" (Nangasaki), "and our English shipping to come for Firando only."

At this period, the English character received considerable detriment from the most unwarrantable conduct of the Dutch, who had a squa-

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dron cruizing in these seas against the Spaniards; but which also carried on a predatory war against the Chinese, taking especial care at the same time to call themselves Englishmen. There can be no doubt that this was one of the operative causes, which subsequently excited jealousies in the counsels of the Japanese government; but as such underhand dealings can no longer exist, we have thence, a fairer prospect of preserving the British commercial and political character unsullied, in the event of a renewed intercourse. Cocks in one of his letters of 1617, says, that the Dutch were actually permitted, by the Japanese, to bring their Chinese prizes into Firando and sell them, although that article had been previously refused to Captain Saris; but he adds—"and as I said before, they have robbed all the Chinese in the name of Englishmen, which hath done much hurt to our proceeding to get trade in that place; so that we were forced to send new supplies to give the Governors in China to understand that they are Hollanders which did it, and not Englishmen." He complains also of the hostile conduct of the Dutch to the English factory, on the arrival of a large

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fleet, when they attacked our factory, and would actually have put all the English merchants to the sword, had it not been for the interference of the Japanese; but he states that the King of Firando refused "to execute justice against them, although the Emperor commanded him to do it."

At this period the martyrdom of Japanese Christianswas very frequent. Cocks relates, that he saw four or five lose their lives at Meaco. amongst whom there were infants of five or six years old burned in their mothers arms! Even the churches were dug up from the foundations; the dead torn from their graves; and Japanese pagodas erected upon their scites.

Though the communications with the factory at Firando had generally been through the medium of Bantam, as a kind of entrepot, yet several instances occurred of direct intercourse between England and Japan, especially in 1621, when captain Pring went there in the James Royal, when the Japanese were highly delighted with the ship, she being 1000 tons burthen; an interview was also had with the Emperor, and every thing seemed to promise the most continued friendship.

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At the close of 1622, Cock wrote home to Saris, stating, great intestine troubles and a dangerous conspiracy against the Emperor, to have taken place in Japan, which seems to have been very unfavorable to British interests, by the prejudice thereby excited against all foreigners, concluding his letter—"Thus much I thought good to advise you, of the present state of Japan, much altered from that it was, at your being heere, and for the rest I hope to tell you by word of mouth at my returne unto England, which I hope to do the next yeare, God sparing me life and libertie."

In fact, his return to England seems to have been accompanied by the breaking up of the whole plan; for, speakiug of the factory, Sir T. Raffles in the appendix to his history of Java says, that one great object, at the commencement, with the English India Company, appears to have been to introduce themselves to a connection with the Chinese, and to carry on a general trade between India, China, and Japan; but finding themselves disappointed in their endeavours to form connections with China, and sustaining heavy losses in consequence of their trade with Japan, they de-

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termined in 1623, to abandon their establishment there: a resolution which, however at first sight it must be regretted, may prove favourable in its final results, as it certainly prevented any personal hostilities between the British and Japanese nations.

At the very moment however, when the troubles were beginning in England that put a stop, for a time, almost to all commercial enterprize; circumstances took place, in Japan, that operated most powerfully at a subsequent period to prevent the renewal of our intercourse with that country. In the early part of the 17th century, (as has been noticed) the Dutch had sent several fleets to Japan, from which they derived considerable profits, and their spirit of commercial monopoly had already induced them to excite jealousies respecting both England and Portugal, in hopes of promoting their exclusion from Japan, when the conduct of the missionaries brought about that, which Dutch intrigue might perhaps have failed in. The Portuguese and other Jesuits had been very favorably received by the Japanese, and had made many converts, when a civil war took place, in a great measure excited by religious dissensions; and a report

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was soon raised, and as readily believed, that it was the intention of the Jesuits to deliver up Japan to the King of Portugal, to whom they were stated to have made the offer, he being also declared to be at that time fitting out eight large ships well manned, filled with troops, and provided with every thing necessary for an enterprize of such magnitude.

It is true that such a force, of itself alone, could not be of any avail against an Empire so large and so populous; but then it was given out that the Portuguese depended for success on the good intelligence which the Jesuits were known to hold with many of the most powerful Princes and nobles, whom they had converted to the catholic faith, and who were quite ready to put arms into the hands of their vassals, and could thus raise a force fully sufficient to overpower the Imperial army, and to put the Emperor to death, if he should refuse to submit to Portuguese dominion. No sooner was this treason discovered, or at least no sooner believed, than measures were taken to drive away all the Portuguese from Japan, which took place

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in 1641, accompanied by the massacre of a number of priests, together with an host of their converts.

The Dutch now eagerly took advantage of the prepossession against the Portuguese, and for some time had almost a free commerce with Japan which yielded them immense profits; to secure which they judged it expedient to establish a regular embassy to Jeddo, to the temporal Emperor, every three years, making him numerous and valuable presents, and carefully communicating every thing which could increase the jealousy of Portugal, and of England also.

That the profits of the Japanese trade were then immense, has been recently ascertained by Sir T. S. Raffles, whilst Governor of Java, who observes, at page 242 of the first volume of his interesting work respecting that island, that from the first establishment of the Dutch commerce with Japan down to the year 1671, their speculations were unrestricted, and their profits enormous. But it must still be acknowledged, that the period in question was the golden age of their trade; indeed it might perhaps have continued as valuable, had they acted with due commercial pru-

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dence; but Sir T. R. describes them as having opened a mine of wealth, which they fondly, though foolishly, thought inexhaustible, as well as rich and easily wrought. In 1640, the Dutch Company actually obtained a return in gold, that yielded a profit of upwards of a million of Guilders. For some time previous to 1663, they were accustomed to procure a return of silver to the extent of 200 chests of 100 pounds each, and it was suggested that it would be desirable for as many chests of gold of the same weight, to be sent in future. In these expectations however, they speedily found themselves disappointed; and, as Sir T. R. informs us, the golden and silver ages of Japan commerce being passed, the latter part of the 17th century began with what the Dutch call its "Brazen Age," that is, its exports of copper, which has ever since continued the staple of the Japan market.

Such was the state of the Dutch trade with Japan, when the happy settlement of the intestine troubles in England, by the Restoration, revived the spirit of commercial enterprize, and an expedition was fitted out in 1673, under the immediate

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approval and patronage of Charles the Second, which sailed for India, stopped at Bantam, and arrived at Nangasaki in June 1674, under the direction of Simon Delboe, Hammond Gibben, and William Ramsden.

The whole of the business is very clearly and candidly detailed in the second volume of *Charlevoix's Histoire et Description du Japan*, page 465 —a detail highly deserving the notice both of our own Government and the India Company, as it plainly manifests that the ordinances, which operate against a renewed intercourse, might be removed without much difficulty. Perhaps if a commercial intercourse were established with Loo-Choo, so well described in the recent works on the Chinese Embassy, the jealousy of the Japanese, with respect to us as foreigners and christians, might be gradually softened so as to render subsequent negociations certain of success.

Our limits do not permit any thing beyond a sketch of the most material points respecting this attempt at renewed intercourse, it must suffice therefore to state, that some boats having come along-side on their first arrival off Nangasaki, the

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people refused to go on board, when they understood it was an English ship; but they requested the strangers to come to an anchor, at the same time stipulating that no guns should be fired nor trumpets sounded. Shortly after, the governor and secretary went on board, and were received with every respect: and the captain told them that he came with licence from the King of England, for the East-India Company to trade and to have commerce with them, as had been done several years before, but not these forty-nine years past. He added, that he had brought letters from the King, and from the East-India Company to the Japanese Emperor, presenting them at the same time with a copy of the articles granted at the first establishment of the factory, in 1612. The Japanese governor and his assistants perused this with much attention, and then asked for the original with the Emperor's seal attached to it; to which the English captain replied, that when the establishment was broken up, the original treaty was returned to the Imperial council. The Japanese then enquired if England was at peace with Spain and Portugal; how long Charles had been

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married to the Portuguese Infanta; and how many children they had? The captain seems now to have suspected some difficulties would arise from this Portuguese connection, and attempted to explain it away by saying, that although Charles had been married about eleven years, yet he had no children by the Queen, and that it was customary for our Kings to marry with their equals to strengthen their alliance, and for other reasons of State, and not with their own subjects. He then informed them that he had some presents for the Emperor, which seemed to afford great satisfaction; after which, the Japanese enquired what was the religion of the English. The answer was, that we were not papists; but of the same sect of christianity as the Dutch. The next question was, what goods were brought; this was answered in general terms; the Japanese seemed content, and their whole party went on shore.

Two hours afterwards the same party came on board again, and said, that if the English would be content to trade as the Dutch did, they should be permitted to do so; but then, according to the Japanese custom and manner, it was necessary that

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the guns, ammunition and boats, should be delivered into their hands to be carried ashore, promising that nothing should be diminished. They next promised to send to the Emperor, on receipt of whose answer, the English should be permitted to go on shore and to have a house: notwithstanding all which apparent friendship, their jealousy began to display itself, by placing boats all round the ship, filled with soldiers. The Japanese Governor then examined every one of the ship's crew personally, having a Dutchman to assist, and asking every individual whether he was a Portuguese or not, or could speak that language; and after some unimportant questions he went on shore, taking with him the ship's boats and as much of the ammunition as he could carry on shore. This, of course, is a species of degradation to which even our merchantmen in future must never submit: perhaps the best method of settling the business at once, will be for men of war alone to proceed thither in the first instance; after which, the point of precedent being once established, the demand may be more easily avoided by the Company's ships, or private traders.

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On the following day, the same Japanese returned on board, and commenced their operations by asking a number of questions. The first of these was—" what was the reason of so long an intermission of intercourse as forty-nine years?" to which the answer was " that we had, for about twenty years, civil wars in England, and twice wars with the Dutch, and that it was no small matter to resolve upon so long a voyage, it being very difficult and dangerous." Then they asked, if any person on board had ever been there before; and being told there were not any, their suprize was very great at the ship's having entered the harbour without a pilot, nor were their surprize or their fears diminished when they were shewn the charts, by help of which, the ship was brought in, although they professed to appear content. This morning they were permitted to carry on shore the remainder of the ammunition, leaving not even a musket or sword on board belonging to any individual, and carrying with them, a double-barrelled gun and some pistols for the Emperor. The captain in his account of the transaction says—" They wrote down exactly every thing

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they took on shore, and compared their accounts in the great cabin before the secretary; who approved thereof, and with great courtesy took his leave, promising that with all speed we should have an answer from Jeddo, and admittance to trade: I gave them thanks, and said we no ways questioned their honorable performance; they said they would not take our great guns ashore, but leave them aboard for our conveniency."

It is to be hoped, that the next English ship, which enters their harbour, will also have her shot so heavy, that they will leave them on board likewise, for *our* and *their own* conveniency!

The next day those personages returned, asked an immense number of questions, and thus gave the English captain an opportunity of refuting several falsehoods, which the Dutch had already begun to disseminate, particularly about our supposed connxtion with some pirates, by whom the Japanese had recently been alarmed and annoyed. They also held a second examination of the crew, enquiring particularly into every man's little stock of private trade; they measured the ship,

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the masts and yards; and in going away promised to send off any thing that might be wanted on making a weft, with the ensign; cautioning them against throwing any person overboard who might chance to die; and again assured the captain that they had sent to the Emperor, wishing that the English would be cheerful and contented.

The next day others came off, asking much after political news. Refreshments also were sent; but at a most extravagant price. The journal now states—"I asked them leave to wear our colours, and sound our trumpets, which they said we might do; and at their departure we sounded; I desired them to lose no time in sending up to the Emperor; they told me they had sent away two days before, and that we might rest contented; they made no doubt but we should have a kind reception, and with all speed possible. *We daily went to prayers, with singing of psalms publicly upon the quarter-deck.*

"NOTE.—That all questions they put to us they did it in the Portugal language, and were answered in the same, or Spanish, and then put the

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same into Dutch again; and thus they constantly did, asking one thing five or six times over, and every time had their answer for their more certain understanding; so that all persons in these parts should have one or both these languages."

About two days afterwards some Japanese officers went on board and asked a number of questions about the various sects of christianity, and the nations professing each, after which a conversation took place which is of sufficient importance to be inserted here, verbatim.

"It being Sunday, we put out our colours with St. George's cross; they asked us why we put out colours to day, not having spread them before since our arrival? I said, this was our Sunday, which comes every seventh day, and it was our custom so to do; they again asked us what way we worshipped God? I said by prayer every morning and even, unto the great God of Heaven above. Whether the Dutch did the like? I told them I believed they did; with all which they seemed satisfied: and having asked these questions six or seven times over, they wrote them down, together with my answers, and gave them to me

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to sign, which I did, although I knew not their character. The same evening, about an hour after, they returned aboard again, and said that in our colours, we now put, there was a cross, how it came that, when we first came, the colours we then wore had no cross on them, only stripes white and red? I answered, the colours we came with were new colours of silk, made at Tywan" (Formosa) "red and white without a cross; because the Chinese had told us, they were great enemies to the cross for the Portuguese sake, and that it would be better taken not to wear the cross at our first entrance; they asked to see the colours we came in with; I said it being a rainy day at our entrance, those new colours were spoiled and taken to pieces; yet they desired to see them, which being brought they were satisfied; then I said, these colours, that we now wear, were the right English colours, and had been worn by the English nation for several hundred years; and that, when we were last at Firando, they were worn by our English ships; and that the Dutch knew very well that they were our colours, whom I desired them to ask for their satisfaction. They said one of the interpreters' father

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had been interpreter to the English, and that he was still living, and that they would enquire of him; moreover I said, we did not wear the cross as in worship or superstition, but as being worn by the English nation for distinction, and that the Portuguese colours and cross were much different from ours; they asked if ever England had been under the government of Portugal or Spain, and had received this cross from them? I told them we never had been subject to either of them; but that it being so long since our using them, I could not tell them certainly what was the cause of our first wearing them, being used by us time out of mind, and according as I had read in history about six hundred years; and that our King was a monarch of three great nations, and far greater than the King of Portugal."

The Japanese seemed satisfied with the detail; but two Dutch shîps from Batavia arriving the next day, the English displayed all their colours with the cross in them "flag, ancient, and jack "at their coming in—" about ten of the clock came aboard the interpreters with two chief men, and they told us that for the future, until other orders

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came from Jeddo, they would not advise us to wear our colours with the cross in them, it being so nigh the Portugal cross, the generality of the people would take our cross to be the Portugal cross; any other colours we might wear, but not in the form of a cross: this the interpreters advised us to observe from them as our friends, not that it was the command of the Governor or Emperor, and by this means we might be assured of the Japanese friendship and of a trade."

New difficulties now started, upon the arrival of the Dutch ships; for at eight o'clock on the evening of their anchoring, the two chief secretaries and seven interpreters returned on board, and told the captain, that they had been examining the Dutch commander, who informed them that the English and the French were in alliance and carrying on a war against the Hollanders, "then asking me (that as the Hollanders and we had made peace five or six years since, and promised to assist each other, and were both of one religion) how it came to pass that we fell out with the Dutch, and joined with the French that was a Roman catholic; I answered, that when we came from En-

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gland, all was at peace, and at our being at Bantam the like, and that we knew of no wars, more than what they now told me these two ships brought advice of, much less could I give any reason for the same; and that I did not believe what the Dutch reported, unless there came news from England or Bantam to confirm it. Then they shewed me a paper signed by Mr. Martinus Cæsar, chief for the Dutch here, wherein he declared the above-said news to be true, and hath promised the Governor of this place, that notwithstanding there was war between the two nations, that in this port both by water and land, he and his men should live peaceably by us, as likewise in any part of the Emperor of Japan's country, for such were his commands; and therefore required of me to sign the like paper, with promises that I and our nation should live peaceably with the Dutch, and not put any affronts upon them, which, if we did as they desired, they told us, the Emperor would protect us (though but new comers unto his country), as much as he should the Dutch; for which I returned him thanks, and made him the same promises, and signed to a paper in the Japan character

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according to their custom. This they several times repeated, that we should have the same friendship as the Dutch, although they had been there many years, and we but newly come; but they expected our peaceable living both here and upon their coast; and that, as soon as the Emperor's answer came from Jeddo, they would provide all things ashore for our convenience and security. They required me to promise, that when the other ships came that we expected, they should do the like, which I did. I also proposed to them, that since there was war between the two nations, they would let our ships depart first out of their ports, for the Dutch were like to be double the number of ships to us, and in case they went out first, in all probability they would lie in wait for us, and fight us at our going to sea; which proposition they said was but reason, and that upon receiving the Emperor's orders for our reception, we might propose that, or any thing we judged necessary."

The whole of the details marks such good sense and moderation on the part of the Japanese people, independent of the policy of their government, to say nothing of their apparent good will

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towards the English nation, and is, upon the whole so different from the shuffling conduct of the Chinese, that we cannot err in forming even sanguine hopes respecting the issue of any future attempt at the renewal of commercial intercourse, provided judicious means shall be used, and a foundation laid by a progressive acquaintance through the medium of our Chinese trade, or the Loo-Choo Islands.

These English visitors now suffered some inconvenience from regulations respecting the supply of provisions, which, of course, it may be proper to guard against as a precedent in future intercourse. The journal says, that hogs, fish and vegetables, &c., were brought off to them; "all our provisions amounting to six Copangs and a quarter, which we paid with thanks; every thing being excessive dear, contrary to what we were informed at *Tiwan*, of this place, but we find the price of every small thing to be put down by order of the Government; and it not being fitting for us to refuse any thing they bring us for our relief, until we have admittance to trade, and a house ashore, we pay for every thing at the rates they put them

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at for compliance sake. The interpreters tell us that the Dutch pay the same rates."

A few days afterwards, the negociation came to a close; as the journal proceeds to state that "on the 28th of July, in the morning about ten o'clock, came on board our ship with three boats, the chief secretaries, one banjoise, with seven interpreters, and other attendants. They told us they had received letters from the Emperor, whom they had acquainted with our being here, and with the intent of our coming to trade, upon account of our former friendship, (all which, as they were advised, had been considered) *but in regard our King was married with the daughter of Portugal their enemy, they could not admit us to have any trade, and for no other reason.* This they said was the Emperor's pleasure, and express orders; and therefore they could make no alteration in it. They likewise said, we must be gone with the first wind, nay, within twenty days. I replied it was impossible for us to go till the monsoons changed. They asked how many days we desired? I replied forty-five days hence, I supposed the winds might be favourable. They said what pro-

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visions we wanted to supply our occasions we should have, and seemed to give consent to our staying until the monsoons changed. They did express themselves very sorry that we could not be admitted to trade. I several times alledged, that we had licence by our last articles to come here and trade, and that we had been nigh two years upon this voyage; wherefore, I desired, again and again, that we might be admitted to sell this ship's lading of goods. They said they could make no alteration in what the Emperor had commanded; that we must begone, and come hither no more; for by reason of our alliance with Portugal they would not admit us. They told us we should have our ammunition, &c. again, and so departed."

Unwilling to give up at once every chance of commercial intercourse, the Captain, with laudable perservance, determined to try another method of introducing English goods to the view of the people, and accordingly he made a signal the next day for the interpreters, from whom he made a demand for provisions, wood, water, &c., to a considerable amount, telling them that he had no more money, and desiring them to take payment in goods,

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offering them English cloths, or Chinese silks, as might be preferred. They took a memorandum of his request, promising to return the next day, and bring some supplies; and, when they were gone, the Captain judged it necessary to hold a consultation with his officers, respecting the preparation of the ship for warlike defence, and also upon a point important to future visitors—"for, finding several of our men to be discontented for want of provisions, which we could not procure; and our voyage proving extremely long, we were fain to give them good words and large promises to make them amends, when we came where it was to be had, to prevent a mutiny, especially in our condition, for we might not (by the Japaneses' orders) strike our men for any crime, which we were more ready to observe, lest they should take any advantage against us: our lives, with ship and goods being in their power, and we deprived of all means to help ourselves, we were full of trouble in our minds; God in his infinite mercy deliver us out of their hands."

The next day the interpreters returned, and demanded an account of what supplies would be

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wanted weekly, during the stay, and for six weeks store for the voyage to Bantam, but so tenacious were they of the Emperor's order, that they would only engage to take *Chinese* goods in return: an arrangement to which the Captain was obliged to assent, though very unwillingly.

Notwithstanding this apparent strictness, yet the interpreters, banjoises, and others went on board two days afterwards, enquiring after English rarities and offering to purchase them; but the prices they offered were so small, supposing no doubt that the English would be glad to take any price for them, that no purchases took place. The next day the chief magistrate and secretaries went on board to look at the English goods, but under the pretence of another examination, during which they asked an immense number of questions, carrying with them, when they went on shore, several articles of British manufacture to shew to the Governor.

On the 26th of August, preparations were nearly made for departure, on which day the chief magistrates and secretaries going on board, a conversation took place which merits peculiar

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notice—" they asked one question now more than formerly, which was, since it was forty-nine years since our being here, caused, as I had told them, by the civil wars, which we had nigh for twenty years, and twice wars with the Dutch, and in all that time having trade with Bantam, why we did not come for Japan, as well as for Bantam? I answered, that the trade between England and Bantam was chiefly continued for pepper, which was bought yearly, with what was sent out of England, and returns made immediately, which could be done with a small stock; but the trade for Japan could not be carried on from England directly, but required a settlement in several places in India, as Tonquin, Siam, Cambodia, and Tywan, which several factories required a stock of twenty tun of gold, which our honourable employers had resolved to set apart, to furnish the trade with such commodities, as were proper for this market, which being so considerable a sum, (besides the employment of many ships) it was no small matter to resolve upon so great an adventure, which required time, and peace, and other matters for their encouragement; which, until now, they had not found convenient:

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and these I supposed were the reasons inducing our company now to prosecute this voyage: they seemed contented with this answer. After, they told me, the wind being come fair, and they having furnished us with what we requested for our maintenance of life, and for the carrying on our voyage to Bantam, which was according to the Japan courtesy, we must be gone from hence the next day. We should have our boats sent us, and all our ammunition, and we must depart peaceably without shooting off any guns in the jurisdiction of the Japan Emperor, which I promised I would perform. I asked whether we might wear our colours? They said, that we might wear any colours that had no cross in them, our cross being offensive to them, for being nigh the Portugal cross. Then asking *whether we might return after the death of our Queen?* They answered, that possibly we might, if the Dutch and several Chinese did satisfy the Emperor that we were not in amity with Portugal; but he could not assure us we should have admission, our surest way was not to come; for the Emperor's commands (according to the Japanese saying), were like unto sweat that goeth out of a man's

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body and hands, which never returneth in again: the Emperor's commands admit of no alteration."

After repeated interrogations, which, not bearing upon the commercial questions, require not any particular notice, the Japanese promised that the Dutch ships in port should not be permitted to sail for two months, in which time the English might arrive at Bantam; and a parting took place "with much outward courtesy and seeming reluctancy, for our not being admitted by the Emperor to settle a trade here."

The ensuing day, every thing was delivered up to them whilst in the harbour, including all kinds of arms, except the ammunition, in order to facilitate their departure, a favour never granted to the Dutch to whom they were then always sent in the offing; and, the wind being scant, forty Japanese boats were sent to tow them to a considerable distance where they anchored, and soon after received their powder, but with the strictest directions not to fire off any guns whilst on the coast, or even in the Japanese seas. The return of the ship to England, and the total failure of her attempt did not discourage the India Company from still retain-

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ing hopes of a renewed intercourse; and with a view to that event, they established a factory on the island of Honan; but the ignorance of the true principles of trade, together with mismanagement, and heavy losses of various kinds, at length chilled the spirit of enterprize and perseverance, and that settlement was abandoned in 1682. At the present day, under all circumstances, political and commercial, we might hope for better success. The Chinese trade, however, appeared an object of too much importance to be lightly given up; accordingly every means were used to establish it; but it was not until the last year of the 17th century, 1699, that it could be considered as settled on a permanent footing, and in that year the factory at Canton was directed to effect, if possible, a communication with Japan through the medium of China. The results of these attempts were by no means commensurate with the hopes that had prompted them, and all thoughts of a Japanese trade seemed for some time abandoned: nor is it wonderful, when we recollect that in 1740, the profits of the Trade, to the Dutch, were so trifling

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that their Company actually contemplated the removal of their factory, and the cessation of mercantile intercourse, their annual ships then never exceeding two, instead of eight or nine as in former years. A smuggling, or forced trade might indeed have been attempted; nay, it is surprising that nothing in that way has yet been tried by our own speculators. It must be confessed indeed, that the long continued prohibition of intercourse with foreigners must operate powerfully, at first, against any attempts on the part of English ships to commence any thing like a regular or even smuggling intercourse with them. When Captain King was off the eastern coast in 1771, on the breaking up of a fog, he descried a Japanese vessel coming down right before the wind. Curiosity and the desire of information naturally led every person upon deck, and he was eagerly taking measures to speak with her, when she instantly altered her course, and the Captain, fearing he might alarm them by any thing like a pursuit, very judiciously brought-to, and permitted the Japanese to pass a-head of him, about half a mile. Accord-

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ing to the best estimate he could form, she was about 40 tons, with six hands on board. She had but one mast, on which was hoisted a common sail, extended by a yard aloft, the braces of which were worked forward. Half-way down the sail came three pieces of black cloth, at equal distances from each other. She was higher at each end than in the mid-ships; and Captain King imagined, from her appearance and form, that it was impossible for her to sail any otherwise than with the wind free. It is not unimportant to add, that it blew so hard immediately afterwards, as to bring the English ships under their courses, with the sea running as high as any one on board ever remembered to have seen it; and Captain King adds, that if the Japanese vessels are as Kœmpfer describes them, open in the stem, it would not have been possible for this vessel and another, which was seen in-shore, to have survived the fury of the storm; but as the appearance of the weather, all the preceding part of the day, foretold its coming, and one of the vessels had, notwithstanding, stood far out to sea, he infers that they really are capable

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of bearing a gale of wind. But Kœmpfer only describes one species of vessels; whilst Spanberg speaks of another, which he calls Busses, in which he states, that they make voyages to the islands in the vicinity: and if that is correct some advantages might even speedily be realized by frequenting those ports, not Japanese, to which Japanese vessels may be in the habit of resorting.

The risque indeed, would be too great for individual speculators; but one or two small ships of war, with some skilful agents of the India Company on board, if judiciously directed, might not only facilitate but hasten the opening of a traffic that may eventually be of the highest advantage to this nation.

From 1699, to 1792, the Japanese trade seems to have been almost unthought of; but in that year, a select committee of India Directors was appointed for special investigation, who actually gave in a report, that an Export trade to Japan could never become an object of importance to our manufacturers, or as a vent for our produce, on the ground that the only returns must be in

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copper, an article produced by our own mines, to the full extent of home consumption and foreign exportation!

It is, however, a curious fact that an English vessel, commanded by an Englishman, a Captain Stuart, actually visited Japan in 1797 and 1798. Nor is it less curious that the vessel carried American colours, with an American pass, and was sent thither by the Dutch authorities at Batavia. The fact is stated in Raffles' Java, in a note extracted from a work by Hogendorp, and well merits further enquiry and investigation.

It must be acknowledged and expected, indeed, that this extreme caution become habitual to the Japanese with respect to foreigners, arising out of their strict municipal regulations, will tend much, at first, to check free communication and friendly intercourse with commercial speculators at the present moment; yet, it is important to observe, that the distrust is rather on the part of the government than of the people, as is manifest from several facts, stated by Captain Broughton, of his Majesty's ship, Providence, who surveyed the Japanese seas in 1795-6-7, al-

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though, upon the whole, he was perfectly correct in saying, that the same unremitted jealousy of foreigners seemed to pervade every place in those seas where the Providence touched at; and although the desires of the crew for wood and water were readily complied with, yet any wish of exploring the interior of the country, or of gaining a more perfect knowledge of its government, produce, and manners, was invariably and pertinaciously resisted. In his first visit, he only landed at Insu, the southern part of the land of Jesso, near Matsmai, where the natives visited him at sea, and were civil to him on shore: as were indeed, the few Japanese he met there; although they were very anxious for his departure; preventing him, also, from having any intercourse, as far as possible, with the people. In fact, the Japanese there did not scruple to go on board the Providence, asking many questions, shewing Captain Broughton their maps and charts, and displaying some knowledge of the Russian language, being able to converse with a seaman of that country then on board. Some of them even dined on board, in the most friendly manner; and upon the

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whole, they seemed more afraid of their own government than of their foreign visitors.

It is worthy of notice, also, that even when off Jeddo, the seat of Empire, the Providence was visited by many fishing boats, which liberally supplied her crew with fish, without seeming to expect any thing in return ; to which Captain Broughton adds—"and having satisfied their curiosity, we parted mutually entertained"—a transaction altogether at variance with the cautious and insulting conduct which takes place in European intercourse with them, when under the paltry restrictions of their government. After the wreck of the Providence, Captain Broughton returned to the coast, in a small schooner, and when off Nambu was again visited by fishing boats, who came, out of curiosity, to look at them, and some of the people actually came on board, pressing them to go in ; after which, he returned to Endormo harbour, in Jesso, where he had formerly refitted, and was received in the most friendly manner by the inhabitants, until checked by the Japanese in office, who came from Matsmai expressly to look after the English, and prevent all intercourse ; anx-

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iously urging their departure, but in a very civil manner, and evidently acting under orders by no means congenial with their own wishes. For they kept up a polite and even friendly behaviour, also presenting Captain Broughton with a map of the Japanese islands, in direct opposition to a fundamental law as stated by all the Dutch and other writers, and proved indeed, by these parties themselves strongly enjoining secresy, as otherwise they would be exposed to disgrace and punishment.

It is surely not an unfair conclusion, that there can be no great difficulty in commencing a trade with these people, if their government should be either coaxed, or frightened out of their present timid policy.

At present, under their existing municipal regulations, great caution will be necessary not only to guard against giving offence, but also, to avoid every concession which the Japanese might afterwards claim as a precedent. Considerable information may be gained, upon this subject, by reference to the narrative of Captain Krusenstern, who conducted thither a Russian embassy, in 1805,

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but whose confined residence at, and necessarily contracted account of that spot, fully justify the expression in a preceding page, (iii) in reference to the manners and customs of Japan, where Thunberg is spoken of as the latest writer descriptive of that country. Though the same observation applies also to Langsdorff's account of the same embassy, yet both are rich in that information necessary for a commercial speculator, particularly the latter, whose residence on shore was equally an imprisonment, but whose more frequent intercourse with the Japanese enabled him to record numberless useful hints for the next English visitors to Japan.

It appears from Krusenstern's narrative, that he experienced and submitted to the same insulting treatment as the Dutch receive, all done in the politest manner, but still too degrading for any British ship, even a merchant-man, to submit to. He was obliged to deliver up his powder and arms, even to the officers' fowling-pieces, although the ambassador was permitted to bring his guard, of seven men, on shore with their musquets, and the officers were also allowed to retain their swords.

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The Russians also were not permitted to go in their boats, even a short distance from the ship, except to a barren spot on a small island, where they were hedged in with bamboos so as to be precluded from the sight of any thing but the Heavens, as the Japanese forgot to put a roof on. All intercourse with the Dutch captains was forbidden ; and it was most unfeelingly ordered that no letters, whatever, should be sent to Russia, by way of Batavia, except a dispatch from the ambassador to his sovereign stating the arrival of the embassy and the welfare of all persons on board, and even that was exposed to the inspection of the governor of Nangasaki. So paltry indeed was the jealousy of the Japanese, and so degraded the acquiescence of the Dutch captains that when, on their sailing, they passed within hail of the Russian ship, they dared not even to answer to Captain Krusenstern's compliments of a happy voyage. They merely made a sign with their speaking trumpets, and the chief of the Dutch factory owned that they had received strict orders not to utter the least sound whatever, in reply to the Russians ! Indeed even the chief himself was under the same degrading regu-

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lations, and often obliged to continue for several minutes in the most abject position before the lowest jack in office, or Banjos as they are called, without receiving the slightest acknowledgment, in return for his salute.

Notwithstanding the strictness of the Japanese, they were liberal in their supplies, every thing being procured on demand; but the Russians were not permitted to purchase the smallest article, not even a fan or snuff-box: nor would any Japanese venture to receive, from them, the smallest present.

The state of slavery in which the Japanese themselves are kept, not only with respect to their intercourse with foreigners, but also in common transactions with the officers of their own government, is most degrading, and renders an acquaintance with them of no value, except in a commercial point of view. Should ever that be effected upon a liberal principle, a great amelioration may take place in Japanese manners and in Japanese morals. At present, the degradations which Europeans have hitherto submitted to, instead of rendering commerce a blessing, have made it a curse, a school for the basest prejudice, and the seal of

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Japanese slavery. It remains for England to burst their fetters, and by a liberal, but resolute and invincible policy to liberate the minds and bodies of an immense empire from the shackles of an ignorant despotism!

Krusenstern attempts an account of the first European intercourse with Japan; but it is totally at variance with the detail in the first pages of this introduction, drawn in fact from Adam's own letters, and other authentic sources, especially in respect to English commerce; yet he states a fact that we have not seen elsewhere recorded, that in 1803, a company of English merchants in Calcutta sent a ship, very richly laden, under the command of Captain Torey to Nangasaki, but she was ordered to quit the Japanese coast in twenty-four hours. He states also that the Americans failed in a similar project about two years previously.

Krusenstern is of opinion that a good trade might be opened with the Peninsula of Corea; and the Japanese are certainly very jealous of the European ships that might have attempted to navigate the sea between Corea and Japan.

Langsdorff entered further into minute and

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useful particulars than it was possible for Krusenstern to do, and gives instructions delivered by the Japanese to Laxman in 1792, respecting the laws of that country in regard to foreign intercourse, stating that these laws are fixed and irrevocable; that it is a law that all ships, particularly if armed, * even though they come in fleets, shall immediately be put under arrest; that no persons are permitted to go into the interior of the country without leave, especially if armed, and that those who do so, *and are caught*, must never be permitted to return to their own country; that merchant vessels of other nations, or merchants, can only come to such places as are pointed out to them, and that with all ships of war, intercourse is strictly forbidden, under whatever pretence they may appear on the Japanese coasts.

This precious document concluded with the clause that the Christian Religion cannot be permitted in Japan, and therefore that all permitted visitors must abstain from every act of religious

* The Japanese police will find it difficult to enforce this law, on a British man of war.

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worship whatever! Much as our indignation must be raised at such illiberal and cowardly restrictions, we certainly have no right to force them to more rational conduct; yet it may fairly be concluded that to do so would be productive of infinite benefit to the people: for it is a curious fact that out of fifteen Japanese, who were wrecked upon the coast of the Russian settlements, and carried to Irkutsk the capital of Siberia, where they resided some years, only five chose to return to their native country, when the offer was made of sending them home under the care of the Russian Embassy; and these five appear to have been the most worthlesss of the party.

Langsdorff states a very curious circumstance on their arrivel of Nangasaki, not mentioned by Krusenstern, that a "boat came out, conveying a *white flag with a blue cross*, and a number of Japanese characters upon it"—a circumstance which shows that the difficulty stated in page lii, is not likely to be repeated.

Notwithstanding the strict regulations enforced by the Japanese authorities, their conduct evidently showed that a more liberal behaviour may

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well be expected whenever a relaxation takes place in their state policy; and it is important to remark that the Russian Ambassador, at an early visit of some of the *great men*, having complained of the conduct and behaviour of the Japanese brought back to their native land, who were still on board as it was intended to present them personally to the Emperor, and who, since the ship had been at anchor, had refused all service, a *great man* instantly summoned them before him, and reprimanded them very severely, representing to them their extreme ingratitude after having been fed and supported by the Russians, for so many years receiving kindnesses in every possible way, and at last being brought back to their native shore at so great an expence; adding, that, in behaving as they did, they brought shame upon the whole country.

Some light is thrown upon the commercial wishes of the Japanese, by the questions which they put to the Russian Embassy. These were, whether Russia could furnish Sugar, Rye, Skins, Medicines, "and many other articles;" expressing, at the same time, much curiosity as to the number of

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ships, which might be annually sent to Nangasaki. From an occurrence which took place at this interview, it is evident also that optical instruments, from a pair of spectacles upwards, would soon become important objects of trade.

Langsdorff, in detailing these events, most pointedly alludes to the excessive closeness of the Japanese authorities, and the extreme circumspection with which every step, on their part, was taken.—Every thought, every question, every word, was weighed in the nicest manner, appearing to have some particular aim in view; and it seemed as if the least error would cost the life even of the persons highest in rank!

Happy will it be for Japan when the liberal ideas springing from an open commerce, and perhaps the gradual introduction of a liberal religion in the true spirit of the Gospel and equally removed from the bigotry that once made Christianity a bug-bear to the Japanese Government, as from that fanaticism which would pour out the mysteries of our faith upon the untutored savage, before he is enabled by an amended morality and judicious instruction to understand them—Happy will it be

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for Japan when these blessings shall afford security and comfort to the lives of the millions who cover her fertile lands, wearing out an uncertain existence in slavery, sloth, and mendicity, and adding to their own political misery the idle fears and the burthensome oppression of demoralized superstition!

The work itself will demonstrate the correctness of this picture; to which we may add, from Langsdorff, in confirmation of the stupid slavery to which the Japanese are subjected, that the interpreters acknowledged that even the name of the reigning Emperor was always kept a profound secret, and that the people never knew, until his death, how their sovereign was called.

In such a country loyalty must be unknown, and it could not but fall an easy prey to any invader. This is a circumstance which ought not to be forgotten, by British Statesmen. Should Russia, or some of these busy spirits now in America, ever make the attempt, the result would scarcely be doubtful, at least so far as a complete revolution might be expected; and with such a people as the Japanese in the vicinity of our oriental empire,

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consequences the most fatal might then be apprehended.

Langsdorff further describes the manners of the people of distinction, whom he saw, to be uniformly polite and courteous; and he adds, that, but for their language and costume, they might have been mistaken for the most polished Europeans. It appears also, that all parties, with whom they mixed, were anxious to acquire the Russian language, and offered, without scruple, to teach the Japanese to those who wished it. But it must not be forgotten, by those who may in future visit Japan, that politeness and courtesy, with not a small portion of plausible insincerity, are the weapons of attack and defence used by those people in diplomatic intercourse; and Langsdorff mentions some curious instances of the ingenious falsehoods in which they dressed up their precautions and even their insults, representing these actually as marks of distinction, for the purpose of procuring a ready acquiescence with orders dictated by tyrannical suspicion. Even their police guard-boats were described as a guard of honour! and an entrance into the harbour was refused, whilst the

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Dutch ships lay there, on the pretence that it would be by no means shewing proper respect to an Imperial ship of war, with an ambassador on board, if it were permitted to anchor amongst merchant vessels. When they did enter the harbour, the ship was surrounded from morning till night with boats filled with visitors, or rather spectators; amongst whom, the fair sex greatly predominated. But all intercourse was still prevented; nay, though supplies of provisions were sent every day to the Russians, they were not permitted to purchase the most trifling article, not even a few tobacco-pipes, until an order should come from court for that purpose. In the enforcement, however, of this and many other regulations, the *great men* really seemed unwilling actors, and acknowledged themselves, on several occasions, to be under the greatest embarrassment, offering as an excuse the singular constitution of their country, and the unchangeable nature of their laws, which they dared not infringe either in letter or in spirit. Nay, some had the candour to own that all the strict regulations of the government were extremely ridiculous; one person, in particular, lamenting his

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fate in being born a Japanese, regretting the short-sightedness of his countrymen, but imputing it to the education of the Emperor, and the great magistrates; adding, that the subjects must be blind when the rulers had no clear ideas, and were not in a situation to acquire any.

It appears that the same difficulties occurred respecting ceremonials, as in our own Chinese embassies, with an equal quantity of chicanery and regulated insult. Langsdorff's details of these are highly amusing, and their perusal will be useful to future speculators, but to notice them would far exceed our limits; yet it must not be omitted, that when at length an answer arrived from the Japanese Emperor, this curious State Paper candidly avowed that the restrictions on foreign intercourse arose from the injunctions of an Emperor one hundred-and-fifty years previous, and that, although since that period several foreign nations had at various times endeavoured to establish an intercourse of friendship and commerce with Japan, these offers had been invariably repulsed, not only in consequence of the long established prohibition, but also because it was considered dange-

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rous to form ties of friendship with unknown foreign powers, which could not be founded on equality. The refusal of receiving the Russian presents was explained, upon the principle that if they were accepted, then the Japanese Emperor, according to custom, which was their law, would be obliged to send back presents of equal value under the care of an ambassador; and that there is a strict prohibition against either the inhabitants or the ships quitting the country; besides which, Japan was stated to be so poor, that it was impossible to return presents to any thing like an equivalent. The reception of the ambassador was refused upon the same pretences.

It is also of importance to mark the commercial or rather anti-commercial reasoning contained in this document, which stated that Japan has no great wants, and therefore, has little occasion for foreign productions; that her few real wants, as well as those she has contracted by custom, are readily supplied by the Dutch and Chinese, and luxuries are things which she does not wish to see introduced; that it would be, besides, very difficult to establish an extensive trade, since that

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must, almost of necessity, occasion frequent intercourse between the common people and the foreign sailors, a thing strictly prohibited by the Japanese laws.

There is something so plausible in this reasoning, and it appears so well borne out by existing facts, particularly by the gradual decline of the Dutch trade with Japan, that, at first sight, it seems to neutralize all those hopes of British intercourse with that country already expressed. But, it must be considered that, although at first any possible commercial intercourse would be but trifling, yet, when we reflect on the difference of the British and Dutch commercial systems, both with respect to credit and to the supply of good articles on a liberal plan; on the superior enterprize of our speculators who look for extensive trade with small profits, whilst the Dutch always starve a market for the sake of large gains; and on the probable increasing annual demand, not only from these causes, but from the amelioration of Japanese manners and modes of thinking with respect to foreign nations that would result from such an intercourse as we only could agree to, or would

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consent to practice, it is not too much to expect that a very few years would render Japan a most advantageous market. At present, the Japanese are too much under control to have any wishes beyond what their strict customs allow them; but a more liberal intercourse, with foreigners, would expand their minds; the sight of articles of British taste, ingenuity, and industry, would excite their wishes; to procure the mere necessaries of life would no longer be the bound of their desires; a new stimulus to industry would arise; their privileged mendicity would cease; wealth would spring from general exertion; and we should soon have more customers than we could well supply. Such are the reflections that result from Langsdorff's very useful and entertaining Journal.

When Batavia, and the whole island of Java fell into our possession, about 1813, a voyage, it appears, on the part of our own India Company, was actually performed. The whole particulars of that transaction would, no doubt, be highly interesting; but the only reference at present is to the Appendix of Sir T. S. Raffles' work, where an account current of the expences and returns,

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including a statement of the nature of the Exports and Imports, is given at length in page xxxii. The whole outfit, cargo and charges, amounted to 298,150 Spanish Dollars; the returns in value (including incidentals) 342,126 Spanish Dollars: yielding a clear balance in favour of the voyage.

Alluding to the preceding opinion of the Select Committee, and to the attempt of 1813, Sir T. S. Raffles very pointedly observes, that the opinion itself appears to have been formed on a very partial view of the subject, and with reference to the limited nature of the trade as it then existed; but he adds, that it would be as unfair to judge of the value of the Japan trade to the British nation, from this narrow view, as it would be to decide upon that subject merely from the result of the voyage of 1813, and the other adventures to Japan, undertaken not as decided British attempts, but under the recent provisional Government of Batavia, which, besides other disadvantages, were for political reasons, carried on with a scrupulous regard to the restrictions under which the trade of the Dutch had latterly laboured.

Upon the whole, we have the reasoning of

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Sir T. Raffles, generally speaking, in favour of a renewed intercourse with Japan; we cannot, however, so far infringe upon his very useful and amusing work as to detail all his arguments, or the beneficial results, both political and commercial, that he almost predicts from that renewal. It is sufficient, here, to allude to his general principles. Those who feel further interested may with great propriety, and with a certainty of satisfaction, consult the "Appendix B" page xv., and see also vol. 1. pp. 242–3.

We have now concluded our brief sketch of English commerce, with Japan, not without the hope that these Chronological Memoranda may stimulate to the judicious revival of a trade likely to become of vital importance to the British Empire.

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RECOLLECTIONS

OF

JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Situation, Climate and Extent.

The geographical situation of the Japanese possessions is, in respect to latitude, the same as that of the countries lying between the southern provinces of France, and the south part of Morocco; their longitude is about 100° East from St. Petersburg, so that, in the middle part of Japan, the sun rises seven hours earlier than in that city. The Japanese empire consists of islands, of which the largest, and most considerable, is the Island of Niphon. Its greatest length, from south-west to north-east, is 1300 wersts, and its greatest breadth about 260 wersts. At a small distance, to the north of Niphon, lies the twenty second Kurile Island of Matmai or Matsmai, which is 1400 wersts in circumference. To the north of Matsmai are the Island of Sagaleen, but of which, only the southerly half belongs to Japan, the other half being subject to the Chinese, and the three Kurile Islands of

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Kunaschier, Tschikotan and Eetooroop (Turpu). To the south of Niphon, lie the two considerable Islands of Kiosu and Sikonfu. The length of the first is above 300 wersts; and that of the second, 200. Besides these eight principal Islands, the Japanese possess many others of inferior consequence.

The Japanese possessions, surrounded by the Eastern ocean, lie opposite to the coasts of Corea, China and Tartary, from which they are separated by a broad strait, which is called the Japan sea, and in the narrowest parts, the straits of Corea. The least breadth of this strait, between the southern coast of Niphon and Corea, is 140 wersts: but the greatest breadth is above 800 wersts.

On a comparison of the geographical situation of the Japanese possessions, with that of the countries of the western hemisphere, under the same degrees of latitude, it might be imagined that the climate, the changes of the seasons, and the atmosphere were alike in both; but such a conclusion would be very erroneous.* The difference of the

* Charlevoix states, that the Japanese are much prejudiced in favor of their own climate, and acknowledges that it must be very healthy, since the people are long-lived, the women very prolific, and diseases very uncommon. We know not what dependence to place upon Kœmpfer's wonderful story of a village upon the side of a mountain, all the inhabitants of which were

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two parts of the world, in this respect, is so striking, that it deserves more particular notice. I will take, as an example, Matsmai, where I lived two years. This town lies in the forty-second degree of latitude, that is on a parallel with Leghorn, in Italy, Bilboa in Spain, and Toulon in France. In these places, the inhabitants hardly know what frost is; and never see any snow, except on the tops of high mountains: in Matsmai, on the contrary, the ponds and lakes freeze, the snow lies in the valleys and the plains, from November till April, and falls, besides, in as great abundance as with us in St. Petersburg. Severe frosts are indeed uncommon, yet the cold is often fifteen degrees of

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children, grand, and great grand-children of a single man then living, and all of them handsome, well made, polished, civil and possessing the manners of people brought up at court.

It seems, however, that little reliance can be placed upon the extraordinary boasts respecting the Japanese climate; since the Jesuits confess that the weather is very changeable; that the winter cold is intense and the fall of snow prodigious; that the summer heats are intolerable; that it rains often and at all seasons, the heaviest rains being in June and July, which portion of the year the Japanese distinguish by the name of the water-months; and that thunder and lightning are then extremely frequent. As a counterbalance to these inconveniences, the Jesuit writers whimsically throw into the opposite scale the *length of the winter*, which they describe as giving the weather time to purify itself, whilst the rains *resoften it*, and the various natural productions cause salutary exhalations; especially from the sulphur and the aromatic plants in which these islands abound.—Ed.

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Reaumur. In summer, the parts of Europe under the same latitude as Matsmai enjoy, almost constantly, serene and warm weather; in Matsmai, on the other hand, the rain pours down in torrents, at least twice a week, the horizon is involved in dark clouds, violent winds blow, and the fog is scarcely ever dispersed. In the former, oranges, lemons, figs, and other productions of the warm climates, thrive in the open air; in the latter, apples, pears, peaches and grapes, hardly attain their proper ripeness.

I have not, it is true, been in Niphon, the principal island of the Japanese possessions; but I have heard from the Japanese that, in Yeddo, the capital city of the empire, in the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, snow often falls, in the winter nights, to the depth of an inch or more. It is true, it melts immediately the next day; but if we consider that Yeddo is under the same latitude as Malaga, in Spain, we shall be convinced that the climate of the eastern hemisphere is much ruder than that of the western. The Japanese assured me that, on the southern part of Sagaleen, in the forty-seventh degree of latitude, the ground is often thawed, during the summer, only to a depth of a foot and a half. If we compare with this the climate of a place in Europe, whose latitude corresponds, for example, Lyons, in France, how dif-

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ferent are the results! That the accounts given by the Japanese are true, I cannot doubt, for we ourselves met with great fields of ice, so late as the month of May, off the Kurile Island of Raschaua, in latitude 47° 45′. At this season, no ice is to be seen with us in the gulf of Finland, in 60° north latitude; though the water there, from being so confined, has not power to break the ice, which vanishes more in consequence of the effects of the rays of the sun. Off Japan, on the contrary, the waves of the ocean must break it up much sooner, if the sun acted with the same power.

This great difference of the climate proceeds from local causes. The Japanese possessions lie in the eastern ocean, which may be truly called the Empire of Fogs. In the summer months, the fog often lasts three or four days without interruption, and there seldom passes a day in which it is not, for some hours, gloomy, rainy or foggy. Perfectly clear days are as rare in summer there, as fogs in the western ocean. Though the fine weather is more constant in winter, yet a week seldom passes without two or three gloomy days. These fogs, and this gloomy weather make the air cold and damp, and hinder the beams of the sun from producing so much effect as in other countries, which enjoy a clear sky. Besides this, the northern parts of the Islands of Niphon, Matsmai,

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and Sagaleen, are covered with extremely high mountains, the summits of which are mostly above the clouds, whence the winds, that blow over these mountains, bring an extraordinary degree of cold with them. It is further to be observed that the Japanese possessions are separated from the continent of Asia by a strait, the greatest breadth of which is 800 wersts, and that the country of the Mantchous and Tartary, which form the east frontier of Asia, towards Japan, are nothing but immense deserts covered with mountains and innumerable lakes, from which the winds, that blow over them, bring, even in summer, an extraordinary degree of cold. These may be the three causes of the striking difference of climate in the countries situated on the eastern side of the old world, and those of the western hemisphere under the same degree of latitude.

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CHAPTER II.

Origin of the Japanese Nation.

In the books written by Europeans concerning Japan, a great deal is said of the origin of the inhabitants of that empire; but all is founded on fabulous and uncertain traditions.* This is the opinion of the enlightened Japanese themselves. Thus, for instance, they attach little credit to the fable, that the population of Japan originated with three hundred unspotted youths and virgins, whom an Emperor of Japan sent to Niphon, by the advice of his brother, for the purpose of looking for herbs to compose a beverage which should confer immortality. Other similar fables are equally disregarded by the more sensible Japanese. Our Interpreter Teske, and the Man of Learning, (Scholar) often laughed in our conversations, at the credulity of their countrymen in regard to their origin. Among other things they related that they had a tradition, that, at a period of remote antiquity, the whole earth was covered with water, in which state it remained during a countless series of

* Some of the Japanese are so vain as to admit of no foreign extraction, but claim a descent from the gods themselves, going back far beyond all Egyptian calculation.—Ed.

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years without the Almighty Creator, whom the Japanese call *Tenko Sama* (Ruler of Heaven), having cast his eye upon it. At length, Kami, his eldest son, obtained permission to put the earth in order and to people it. He therefore took an extremely long staff to sound the depth, which he found to be the least, exactly in the place where Japan now rises out of the sea. He threw the earth from the bottom, up in a heap, and created the Island of Niphon, furnished it with all the natural productions which still flourish there, divided himself into two beings, one male and one female, and peopled the new country; when the other children of God saw their brother's work, they did the same in other parts of the globe, and though they succeeded in creating countries, ordering and peopling them, they, however, had not the skill which their elder brother possessed, and, hence, in their creation of countries and men, they did not attain the same perfection.* For this reason, the Japanese are superior to all the other inhabitants of the earth, and the productions of Japan better than all others. Teske, who related to us this tradition from their ancient history, laughed, and said that even to this

* Another statement says: "That, at the beginning of the World, the first of seven Celestial Spirits arranged the chaos, or confused mass of Land and Sea, when, from the end of the rod with which he performed it, there fell a muddy froth, which condensed, and formed the Islands of Japan."—Ed.

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day, most of his countrymen believed the silly fable, and many affirmed that a part of the staff, which their first ancestor had employed to measure the depths of the ocean, still existed as an evergreen-tree on one of the highest mountains in the Island of Niphon.

I will not burthen my readers with the relation of similar absurd traditions, of which the Japanese have a great number; whoever is fond of them has no need of having recourse to Japanese mythology. I will only mention what the learned among the Japanese think concerning the origin of their nation. According to their opinion, the original population of Japan is buried in the obscurity of the remotest antiquity; but they are convinced that the Japanese and the Kuriles once were one and the same nation, and are descended from the same stock. They endeavour to prove this by a number of words common to both languages, by the resemblance of some opinions and traditions, which are believed by the people in Japan and the Kurile islands, as well as by some usages, which have been common from ancient times to both nations. This hypothesis is really supported by the Japanese language, the features, manners, laws and customs.* Every thing testifies that the

* It has been supposed by all the early writers, on grounds apparently plausible, that the Japanese are not of Chinese, but

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Chinese and the Japanese were never one people. The Japanese even abominate the idea that the Chinese may have been their ancestors; their contempt of that nation goes so far, that when they mean to call any one a rogue or a cheat, they say he is a true Chinese. Notwithstanding all this, they, however, confess that many families in Japan are of Chinese origin. Their history does not indeed mention any migration of the Chinese to Japan, but they believe that, in the frequent wars between the two nations, the Japanese took a great number of Chinese prisoners. According to the accounts of the Japanese historians, the Chinese were conquered in all the wars, and only the principle of the Japanese policy, not to extend their dominions, had hindered them from entirely subduing China. It cannot well be doubted, that the Japanese historians exaggerate their victories; but it cannot be affirmed, that the Japanese may not have obtained very great advantages in the wars with the Chinese. As proofs of this, we may reckon the great respect which the Chinese Emperors pay to the Emperors of Japan, and the

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of Tartar origin. There is certainly no connexion between the Japanese and Chinese languages, whilst between many of the Tartar and Japanese customs, there is an extreme coincidence, to say nothing of the similarity of dispositions, which exists between the two nations, whence a Japanese has been aptly defined to be a polished and civilized Tartar.—Ed.

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arrogance with which the Japanese treat those Chinese who come to them on account of trade. It is, therefore, very probable, that the Japanese, who made frequent and successful attacks on the Chinese coasts, took numerous prisoners, whom they brought off as slaves. The Japanese historians also assert, that emigrants from India settled among them, from whom the religious sect, now predominant among them, borrowed their faith, which evidently appears to be no other than the faith of the Bramins disfigured.

This is all that the well-informed Japanese consider to be certain respecting their origin. They affirm, that their history has a certain degree of authenticity, since the government of the present house of Kin-Rey, or the spiritual Emperors; that is according to their chronology, for a period of above 2400 years, or six centuries before the birth of Christ. Some of the most important events of these twenty-four centuries are described pretty much in detail, others are only touched upon. The names of all the spiritual Emperors of this house, as well as their successors, and the years of their accession to the government, are known to the Japanese. All traditions, respecting events previous to that period, they regard as fables undeserving of belief, even though their historians mention them.

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In a conversation on this subject, Teske made the following remark: "Though traditions of this kind (said he) are ridiculous and incredible, yet we must not disturb the belief of the people in them, as this may be useful to the State. They cause the people to prefer themselves to all other nations, to despise foreign manners, and in general every thing that is foreign; and the Japanese have learnt, by dear-bought experience, that it has always been attended with misfortune to them when they adopted any thing foreign, or suffered foreigners to interfere in their concerns. Besides, the same prejudice that teaches a people to love their country, above all things, binds them to their native soil, and hinders them from exchanging it for a foreign land."

According to the opinion of Teske, and our man of learning, researches into the origin of a people, and what nations in ancient times sprung from one common stock, are foolish and useless, and can at the best amuse idle people, and the inventors of fables. "For (say they) if even old people give wholly different accounts of events, of which they were witnesses in their youth, how is it possible to believe traditions, which must have been handed down through many generations? Or how can we immediately draw a conclusion that two nations are of the same origin, because

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they have two or three words alike in their language, or some peculiar custom?" Whether these notions of my Japanese friends are just, I leave to be decided by more learned people.

In conclusion I observe, that the Japanese, even the most unprejudiced, will not believe that all the nations of the world descend from a single man. As a proof of the contrary, they alledge the difference in the external appearance of different nations. "How can we persuade ourselves (say they) that the Dutch and the Negroes on board their ships, could be descended from the same original parents, even many thousand years ago?"

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CHAPTER III.

National Character, Civilization and Language.

JAPAN, discovered by the Portuguese, was known to the Europeans in the middle of the sixteenth century.* The rage for conquering newly-disco-

* That Japan was totally unknown to European Geographers, in the time of Ptolemy, is evident from the statement in his writings, that the country of the Sinæ, or China, was bounded to the East, "by an unknown country." He knew not then, that an Ocean existed to the Eastward, and it follows of course, that any islands in that Ocean must have been equally unknown. *(See further, the Introduction to Kœmpfer.)* It is to Marco Polo, then, in the 13th century, that we must look for the first mention of this extraordinary people.

Marco Polo did not personally visit Japan, but speaks of it from information obtained in China, under the name of Zipangu, describing it as rich in gold and silver, pearls and precious stones. His general account of it seems pretty correct, allowing for several exaggerations, such as, the royal palaces being covered with gold, as with lead in Europe; the cielings being of solid gold, &c. His account of an invasion of Zipangu, by the Cham of Tartary, in 1279, recorded also in the Chinese and Japanese annals, is a convincing proof that Zipangu and Japan, are the same island. The name has been written in old times, Zipangri, Cyampagu, Cimpago, and Gepen. Even the name of *Niphon*, is not general throughout the Japanese Empire, for in certain districts, the word is pronounced Zipon, or Siipon, apparently arising from some peculiar conformation of the colloquial organs, as in the North of Spain B is changed into V, and in our own Somersetshire F

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vered countries, was the prevailing spirit among the great powers of those times. The Portuguese had the intention to conquer Japan, and, according to their custom, began with trade, and preaching the Catholic faith. The missionaries, sent to Japan, succeeded in pleasing at first: they had free access to the interior of the kingdom, and had almost incredible success in converting their new

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into V; to say nothing of the well-known cockney peculiarity. Indeed, even without this ground for conjecture, the case may be considered as decided by all recent discoveries and researches, which render it impossible that Marco Polo could have meant any other country, independent of what we know of its riches, especially in gold, silver and pearls; of its monarchical, and almost absolute government, the colour of its people, their stature and religion; and the multitude of islands, enumerated at 7440, but of course including the smallest, that peep above water.

The Japanese, moreover, call their country *Niphon*, from two words, *Ni*, signifying fire, or the Sun *par excellence*, and *Pon*, being basis, or foundation; but the Chinese name *Gepuenque*, signifies the kingdom of the rising Sun. Another name of *Teuka*, signifies the Empire under Heaven; and *Teuka-Sama* is the monarch who is under Heaven. In some of the Japanese writings, it is also called *Sinkoxa*, and *Kamino-Kuni*, the habitation of the Gods; *Tontsio*, the true morning; and *Awadsima*, *Avva*, signifying froth, *Dsi*, land, and *Sima*, an island, or the land that springs from the froth of the Sea.

The first European ship that ever reached Japan, is said to have been Portuguese, driven thither by a tempest in 1534; but the date is fixed five or six years later by Father Xavier, in one of his letters from Cochin.—Ed.

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disciples. But the Emperor Teigo,* who reigned in Japan at the end of the sixteenth century, a sensible, judicious, and valiant man, soon remarked, that the Jesuits were much more eager to collect Japanese gold, than to save the souls of their new converts: he, therefore, resolved to extirpate Christianity in Japan, and banish the missionaries from his dominions. Charlevoix mentions in his history, that this determination of Teigo Sama was caused by the declaration of a Spanish Captain, who being asked by the Japanese "by what means his Sovereign had succeeded in subduing such great countries, particularly America?" answered, that they had effected it in the easiest manner, by first converting, to Christianity, the inhabitants of the countries which they desired to subdue. I cannot decide on the credibility of this circumstance, but I believe that the Japanese know nothing of it. According to their opinion, the chief, or rather the only ground of the extirpation of the Christians in Japan was, the insolent conduct of the Jesuits, and of the Franciscans sent by the Spaniards, as well as the rapacity of the Portuguese merchants. Both the former and the latter committed excesses of every kind, to obtain

* In some books he is called Teko-Sama, but the Japanese pronounce it Teigo. The word Sama signifies ruler, and is affixed to the name.

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their ends, and to enrich themselves. Other Emperors, therefore, with less understanding than Teigo, might easily have seen, that self-interest was the only motive of those preachers of the faith, and that religion was merely the instrument by which they hoped to execute their plans.

However this may be, Teigo and his successors succeeded in expelling all the Europeans* from their dominions, and in wholly rooting out the Christian faith. Already in the middle of the seventeenth century, nobody in Japan ventured publicly to acknowledge himself a Christian.† The bad conduct, and the covetousness of the Catholic

* Except the Dutch, who assured the Japanese that they were no Christians, and obtained permission to trade with them; but on conditions which render the Dutch in Japan, as it were, prisoners, so that it is almost impossible to think that they are a free people, who come there for the sake of trade.

† The early Missionaries always gave high praise to their converts; nay so great and tender did the sentiments of the whole nation appear to St. Francis Xavier, that he never wrote of them but with the profoundest admiration. In one of his epistles he says:—"I know not when to have done, when I speak of the Japanese, who are most truly the delight of my heart." Indeed all his successors speak in the warmest terms of their pupils, of the goodness of their hearts, of their gratitude for the smallest favors, and of their constant endeavours to give satisfaction to their instructors.—Ed.

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priests and of the Portuguese merchants, excited in the Japanese government such an inveterate hatred of the Christian religion, and of all Christians, that the persecution of them was accompanied with the most dreadful tortures that the ingenuity of human malice could devise. The most rigorous edicts were issued against the Christians; no Christian dared to shew himself in Japan—no Japanese ship was allowed to visit foreign countries for the sake of trade—no Japanese dared, under any pretext whatever, to leave his native country, lest he should be converted, when abroad, to the Christian faith.

If we examine dispassionately, and without prejudice, the real though hidden motive which impelled the Portuguese, and then the Spaniards, to preach the Catholic faith in Japan—if we consider their licentious conduct in that country, and the evils which they caused in it, by endeavouring to annihilate the religion which had long prevailed, to overturn the legitimate authority, and to subjugate a numerous, peaceful, and harmless people; if we remember that the plans of those shameless hypocrites disturbed the tranquillity of the nation, and excited a bloody civil war, can we then wonder at the cruelties of the Japanese towards the Christians? Do not the Catholics themselves justify these persecutions by their Inquisi-

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tion, and their proceedings towards the Protestants? Notwithstanding this, the missionaries, expelled from Japan, represent the nation whom they could not succeed in deceiving, as cunning, faithless, ungrateful, revengeful, in short, in such odious colours, that it would be hardly possible to find a being who merited to be compared with a Japanese. These accounts, inspired by monastic rage, have been taken in Europe for genuine; whilst the horror impressed on the Japanese of every thing relative to the Christian religion, and the principle of their distrustful policy, not to suffer their country to be entered by any Christian, and to keep them as much as possible from their coasts, doubtless confirm the calumnious accounts given of this people. This firm belief in the detestable character of the Japanese goes so far, that such expressions as *Japanese malice! Japanese treachery!* are become proverbial. Fortune reserved it for me, during an imprisonment of twenty-seven months, to convince myself of the contrary; and the narrative of my adventures has, I think, afforded sufficient proofs, that the Japanese are not what the Europeans take them to be.

That the Japanese are sensible and ingenious, is shewn by their conduct with respect to foreigners and their constitution. We had opportunities enough to experience the honesty of this people,

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as well as their compassion for the misfortunes of their fellow creatures. They shewed hospitality even to those proselyte makers, who, in the sequel, so ill rewarded them for it, and represented them besides in such an odious light. The good reception which Captains Spangberg and Walton met with from them in the year 1739, when they entered several harbours on the east coast of Niphon, the names of which they did not know, plainly shews the inclination of the Japanese to foreigners, who visit them with honorable intentions.*

Laxmann, nay, even Resanow, and other foreigners who have visited Japan, cannot complain that the Japanese treated them ill; only they did not allow them the liberty of viewing every thing, and would hear nothing about commerce. But whose fault is this? To be sincere, we must confess that the intrigues and covetousness, or, to speak more politely, the spirit of speculation of the Europeans, give the Japanese just reason to shun them, and all connection with them.

The Japanese are deficient in only one quality, which we reckon among the virtues, namely, bravery or courage. If the Japanese are timid,

* See Müller's Collection of Russian History, part iii. page 168.

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this is merely in consequence of the peaceful character of their government, of the long repose which the nation has enjoyed, or rather of their being unaccustomed to shed blood; but that the whole people are by nature timid is what I can by no means allow, whether I may be right or wrong. Are there not nations, now sunk in the profoundest torpor, whose ancestors were the terror of the world a few centuries back? In my own country a whole village often flies into the woods from a single robber and his brace of pistols, and the same peasants afterwards mount batteries, and storm fortresses which were considered as impregnable. Does the uniform alone make the hero? Is it not rather the innate spirit of bravery? The Japanese, therefore, cannot be said to be naturally cowards.

Strong liquors are in use among the Japanese. The common people are very fond of them, and frequently drink to excess on holidays; but this vice is not so common in Japan, as in many European countries. To be drunk in the daytime is looked upon as very disgraceful, even among the common people; the lovers of drinking, therefore, do not indulge their propensity until the evening, after the termination of all labour and business. Besides, it is only on few occasions, and in a social circle, that they drink, and not as the common men do among us.

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Among the vices of the Japanese, the most prevalent appears to be incontinence.* Though the law does not allow them to take more than one wife, they have the right to keep concubines, and all opulent people make use of this right even to excess. The bagnios are under the protection of the laws, and have their regulations, rules, and privileges. The owners of such houses are not, indeed, considered infamous, and enjoy the same rights as merchants, who deal in a permitted commodity with the consent of the government; but the Japanese avoid being acquainted with them. The lovers of such places generally visit them from sun-set to sun-rise.† The music plays and the

* The virtues of the Japanese will be found recorded in subsequent notes; but their national vices are not neglected by the earlier writers, who describe them as being arrogant; factious; vindictive to an excess; full of defiance, and ready to take offence; and in spite of the natural severity of their character, carrying their dissoluteness far beyond that of any other nation: yet the Missionaries found it not difficult to wean the Japanese from these vices. They found them virtuous through sentiment, naturally religious, and docile from being accustomed to use their reason. Lying was punished with death.—Ed.

† The system seems universal throughout the Empire; for Thunberg states, that in all the parts where he stopped, great care had been taken to establish a sanctuary for the venal part of the sex, (and for the most part several,) even in the smallest villages—a fact, which goes far to stamp the character of the nation.

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drum is beat. There were some such houses near our abode, and I cannot remember that a single night passed without our hearing the drum: hence I conclude that these places are never without visitors. The Japanese told us, that at Yeddo, the capital of the temporal emperor, there are numbers of the largest buildings of this kind, which are nothing inferior in magnificence to the palaces of princes: in one of these temples, dedicated to

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He says, that these were commonly the handsomest houses in the place, and sometimes were even situated near their idols' temples. In one very small place, there were fifty of these unhappy votaries; in another, not larger, eighty; and in another place, *Miterai*, not very extensive, no less than four of these unhallowed receptacles. The females are generally called *Keise* or *Kese*, which signifies a castle turned upside down. These ladies are not only regulated by the Government, but, when engaged by foreigners, their husbands are paid a certain sum per day, independent of presents to the frail fair one, and the cost of her maintenance. Such is the want of common decorum in Japan, that these houses are indiscriminately used by male parties as taverns for drinking Sakki, or beer made from rice. The daughters of indigent parents, are even apprenticed out, or sold to the occupant of one of these houses; where having served a certain term, they regain their liberty, mix in general society without a stain, and are often advantageously married.

The number of the unhappy females who are attached to these places, is much augmented by the constant system of travelling pursued throughout the Japanese Empire. Charlevoix asserts, that the crowd which is always met upon the roads is inconceivable; for whenever travelling is practicable, a stranger

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Venus, there are six hundred priestesses, and yet the porters are often obliged to refuse admittance to young worshippers of the goddess, because there is no vacancy. We were assured that the proprietors of these magnificent magazines spare nothing to furnish them with the most beautiful merchandize, and this is very easily to be believed. On one of our walks in Matsmai, the interpreters, to gratify our curiosity, led us past such a house:

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would suppose, that not a soul was left in the towns or villages, but that the whole nation was in motion; some travelling on business; others on pilgrimages; numerous beggars, asking alms with all due submission and politeness, yet never failing to be importunate until relieved; whilst a prodigious number are always upon the look out to stop passengers, to sell their damaged merchandize, bad provisions, insipid confectionary, straw shoes for men, straw trappings for horses, paper toys, and topographical directories. These, he owns, may be got rid of; but all the sleeping places are infested with an annoyance, not so easily guarded against—the courtezans, who enter into every inn, setting themselves at mid-day, decked out, and painted, at the doors of the houses, or upon covered parapets, inviting the travellers to give the preference to their inn, as the tavern doors of London were formerly plied by the unhappy victims of pleasure. In some places, the noise produced by this system is so great, as to be heard at a considerable distance. It is a curious fact, that the politicians in Japan attribute this general disorder to *Joritomo*, one of their early lay-emperors, who was an usurper, and fearing, lest his soldiers, tired of his long and distant war-like expeditions, should leave him, conceived the plan of retaining them under his *Eagles*, by procuring, on every route, where his armies should

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half a dozen young creatures ran to the door to see us. I observed, that some of them were in the bloom of youth, and so handsome, that they would have done no discredit to a house of the same description in an European capital; but perhaps they appeared so to me only, because my eyes had been so long deprived of the sight of our fair countrywomen.

But to the shame and disgrace of the Japanese, I must say, that the abominable vice, common to all Asiatics, is practised also among them: the government does not indeed approve it, but it

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pass, all the indulgences which they could hope for, in lieu of that legitimate and domestic happiness, of which they were deprived by his ambitious plans. The natural consequence of this was a complete depravation of character throughout the Empire, so that the Chinese have actually been in the habit of calling Japan the brothel of China, many of them going to Japan expressly to mingle in its debaucheries!

It is a curious fact in the history of human nature that although the owners of these infamous receptacles have the Imperial licence, yet are they held in such detestation by the people, that, when any of them die, (though in their life-time they were admitted into company by the best, yet now, as unworthy to rest amongst the worst) a bridle made of straw being put into their mouths, they are dragged in the clothes they died in through the streets into the field, and there cast upon a dunghill, for dogs and birds of prey to devour. This is positively stated by Saris, in 1612.—Ed.

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adopts no vigorous measures to suppress it. The province of Kioto, in which the spiritual emperor lives, is celebrated for the beauty of its male inhabitants, and furnishes the greater part of the youths for this infamous traffic.

Revenge might be reckoned, in earlier times, among the vices of the Japanese.* The duty of revenging an injury formerly descended from the grand-father to the grand-son, and even lower, 'till the descendants of the person injured found an opportunity to take vengeance on the descendants of the offender; but at present, as the Japanese assured us, this foolish propensity no longer prevails to such a degree, and offences are sooner forgotten. But do not we find equally absurd notions in other countries? Is not the having recourse to the sword or pistol, for a word dropped inadvertently, also a folly?

The Japanese may be called frugal, but not niggardly; they speak with great contempt of

* In satiating his revenge, we are told that the Japanese seeks to do it with certainty, but nobly. He will not even dissemble for the purpose of deceit, believing it beneath his character. When he postpones the gratification of his passion, therefore it is that he may not miss his blow; and he is never so much to be feared as when he is tranquil and apparently quiescent.—Ed.

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covetousness, and have invented many severe apologues at the expence of misers: the decent and even rich clothing which they continually wear, according to their respective ranks, confirms what I have just said.

In respect to the degree of knowledge to be found in the people, the Japanese, comparing one nation with another, are the most enlightened people in the world. Every Japanese is able to read and write, and knows the laws of his country, which are seldom changed, and the most important of which are publicly exposed on large tables in the towns and villages, in the public squares and other places. In agriculture, horticulture, the fishery, the chace, the manufacture of silk and woollen stuffs, of porcelain, and varnished goods, and in the polishing of metals, they are not at all inferior to the Europeans: they are well acquainted with the art of mining, and understand how to make several works in metal.* In the arts

* It may be difficult to separate the original Japanese knowledge, from that acquired by intercourse with Europeans which, in the early stage of our acquaintance with them, was under few restrictions. Thus, for instance, it is perhaps scarcely possible to say, whether they possess the knowledge of gun-powder from the first Portuguese discoverers, or derived it from China, where it is said to have been used long before its discovery in

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of cabinet-making and turnery they are perfect masters: they are, besides, admirably skilled in the manufacture of all articles belonging to domestic economy. What knowledge can be more useful to the common people? The arts and sciences, indeed, have attained a higher degree of elevation among us; we have men who prescribe their orbits to the heavenly bodies, the Japanese have not; but on the other hand, for one such we have thousands who are unacquainted with every element of knowledge. We possess in Europe great mathematicians, astronomers, chemists, physicians, &c. such as we

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Europe in 1340. Telescopes also are described by Thunberg as in frequent use; but with us these were unknown until about 1600. It is probable however that these are strictly an European invention; as the Portuguese writers, in describing the early voyages, offer not an hint respecting them.

Early writers assert that the Japanese cultivated no science, purely speculative, except religion, in which and in controversy their clergy were unceasingly employed: but as to metaphysics, mathematics or even natural philosophy, they knew scarcely any thing respecting them. In short they knew little of astronomy; their architecture was without taste, skill or order; their epochs, their rudiments of chronology, the manner of dividing time and of reckoning their years, even now are far from giving a high idea of their knowledge of combination and of calculation. Some idea of the uncertainty even of their daily calculations may be drawn from the fact, that the number of hours, from sunrise to sunset, is always the same; so that the hour consequently varies in length at different times of the year.—Ed.

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must not look for in Japan, though these sciences are not unknown there, as I have already had occasion to mention in my narrative; but those learned men do not make a nation, and, generally speaking, the Japanese have more correct ideas than the lower classes in Europe—I will mention an example. A common soldier, who was one of our guard, one day took a tea-cup, pointed to it, and asked me if I knew that our earth was round, and that Europe and Japan lay in such a situation in respect to each other? (pointing out, at the same time, the respective situations of both upon the globe pretty accurately upon the cup.)* Several other soldiers shewed us geometrical figures, and inquired whether these methods of measuring and dividing the earth were known to us. Every Japanese is acquainted with the medicinal virtues of the various herbs which grow in that climate, and almost every one carries about him the most usual medicines, such as laxatives, emetics, &c. which he immediately uses in case of need. The Japanese have, however, in common with other

* When Xavier first visited them, they were, as he describes, ignorant that the world is round, "ignorant of the sun's motion," (the sainted jesuit manifesting therein a little of his own ignorance) "of the causes of comets, of the planets, of hail, and similar things," which, however, they were very anxious to be acquainted with from the holy father's lectures.—Ed.

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nations, the absurd, and often injurious, prejudice of curing themselves by sympathy, as I have mentioned once before in my narrative.

Except the principal people, who have a part in the government, and the *literati*, the Japanese have very confined notions of other nations; because the Japanese policy obliges the government to hinder the spreading of knowledge of foreign manners and customs, that it may not corrupt the people, and make them deviate from the object to which the wisdom of the laws conducts them; namely, to live in peace, tranquillity, and abundance.*

The geographical knowledge of the Japanese consists in their being able to shew upon the map where a country lies, and what space it occupies.

They consider the histories of other nations, except that of the Chinese, as useless, and unworthy of their attention, and ask to what purpose they must know all the tales which every nation invents out of vanity. The members of the govern-

* Charlevoix asserts that they produce a number of books, and have very extensive libraries; but then these works treat of nothing but morals, of which they are great masters, of history, religion and medicine.—Ed.

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ment, and the learned, however, concern themselves about the modern history of the European states, and particularly of those who are become their near neighbours. The government endeavours to obtain, by means of the Chinese and Dutch, information respecting the political events in Europe, and observes the course they take. The Russian settlements in America, and the preponderance of the English in India, make them very uneasy. Notwithstanding all the pains we took to convince them of the truly pacific intentions of our humane monarch and his government, many of them were afraid that their turn to be attacked would come sooner or later: they communicated their conjectures by circumlocutions. "All sovereigns," said they, "have not the same dispositions; one loves peace, and another war:" once they owned to us, that a tradition had been current among them from ancient times, that the time would come when a people from the north would subdue Japan.

The Japanese are very well acquainted with the history and geography of their own country: the reading of historical books is their favorite amusement.

In painting, architecture, sculpture, engraving, music, and probably also in poetry, they are far

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inferior to the Europeans. In the art of war they are still children, and wholly unacquainted with navigation, except that along the coasts.*

The Japanese government will have the people satisfied with the degree of knowledge they possess, and to make use of the productions of their own country, and forbid them to adopt any thing foreign, that foreign manners may not creep in with foreign arts and sciences. Their neighbours must thank providence for having inspired the Japanese lawgivers with this thought, and should endeavour to give them no inducement to change their policy for that of Europe. What must we expect if this numerous, ingenious, and industrious people, who are capable of every thing, and much inclined to imitate all that is foreign, should ever have a sovereign like our Peter the Great: with the resources and trea-

* It is curious to mark some of the points in which they differ from, and also those in which they agree with other nations, with whom they have had no possible intercourse. With respect to Europe, they have been called our moral Antipodes. White they consider as the colour of mourning; black, that of joy. They mount a horse on the offside, like the Arabians; the reason assigned for which is that in an action so noble and manly, it is wrong to rest upon the left foot. They wear habits of ceremony or their Sunday clothes in the house: but lay them aside in going out. They salute the foot, instead of the head or hands, &c.—Ed.

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sures which Japan possesses, he would enable it to become, in a few years, the sovereign of the eastern ocean. What would then become of the maritime provinces of eastern Asia, and the settlements on the west coast of America, which are so remote from the countries by which they must be protected? If the Japanese should think fit to introduce the knowledge of Europe among them, and adopt our policy as a model, we should then see the Chinese obliged to do the same: in this case these two powerful nations might soon give the situation of Europe another appearance.* However deeply a horror of every thing foreign may be impressed on the Japanese and Chinese government; yet a change in their system is not inconceivable: necessity may compel them to do that, to which their own free will does not impel them! Attacks,

* Their extreme readiness in acquiring European knowledge is certified by father Luigi Froes, in "Lettere del Giappone," published at Naples in 1580, wherein the learned jesuit expressly states that, in the course of six or seven years' experience, he had ascertained the young people of Bongo, or Xicoco, to possess the rarest talents. Their persons and manners he describes as elegant; besides which, they had capacious understandings, speedily equaling their teachers in learning all sorts of musical instruments, in singing, in reading, writing, painting and fencing, and every thing connected with the military art. He asserts also, upon the authority of one of his companions, that they speedily acquired such a knowledge of the Chinese language as to equal the Bonzes, who had spent their whole life upon it.—Ed.

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for example, like that of Chwostoff, often repeated, would probably induce them to think of means to repel a handful of vagabonds who disturbed a nation. This might lead them to build ships of war on the model of those of Europe; these ships might increase to fleets, and then it is probable that the good success of this measure would lead them also to adopt the other scientific methods, which are so applicable to the destruction of the human race.

In this manner all the inventions of Europe might gradually take root in Japan, even without the creative spirit of a Peter, merely by the power and concurrence of circumstances. The Japanese certainly would not be in want of teachers if they would only invite them; I therefore believe that this just and upright people must, by no means, be provoked.* But if, contrary to all expectation,

* Notwithstanding the rigor of the government, or perhaps the more for that very rigor, the Japanese interpreters who speak Dutch, are always particularly anxious to procure European books. This is perfectly in unison with their insatiable curiosity after European affairs, as described by Golownin, and confirmed by Thunberg, who says that they are always anxious to learn something from the Europeans, and question them without ceasing, and frequently so as to be irksome, upon all subjects, especially relating to physic, natural history and natural philosophy. It is thus evident that nothing but the absurd jealousy of the government prevents them from rising

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urgent reasons should make it necessary to proceed otherwise, every exertion must be made to act decisively: I do not mean to affirm that the Japanese and Chinese might form themselves on an European model, and become dangerous to us now; but we must take care to avoid giving cause to our posterity to despise our memory.

In their intercourse with each other, the Japanese, of every rank, are extremely polite: their mutual obligingness, and polished behaviour, attest the real civilization of this people. During the whole time of our imprisonment we were with Japanese who did not belong to the higher classes; yet we never heard them quarrel, or employ abusive language: we were often witnesses to disputes between them; but all were carried on with a degree of moderation and temper, which is not always to be met with even in our polished circles.*

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high in the scale of science. Should a revolution in manners once take place, and the ports of Japan be opened, we may anticipate changes both moral and political, of the most extraordinary nature through all the oriental regions! It is a subject highly worthy political and philosophic investigation.—Ed.

* Their extreme politeness towards each other has been described and accounted for by the earliest writers, who state, that all the riches of this powerful empire are in the hands of the princes and nobility, who make a great shew of their wealth;

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The Japanese language is not borrowed from any other nation: it is derived from the common ancestors of the Japanese and Kuriles; besides, it has adopted, from the former intercourse with the Chinese, the Coreans, and other nations, a number of words which now pass for national. Some European words also are in use among them; for example: *savon*, soap;* *buton*, button; *tabago*, tobacco, &c.

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their magnificence going to a greater extent than any thing known in Europe, or recorded in the history of the most powerful monarchies of ancient times. All this is seen by the great mass of the people without the slightest envy; and if it happens that any nobleman, or man of high rank, by any unhappy accident, or by incurring the prince's displeasure, should fall into indigence, still he is not the less haughty, nor less respected than in his most brilliant fortunes; and into whatever misery or poverty a gentleman may be reduced, he never forms an alliance beneath his own rank.

The point of honour is also extremely lively in all ranks, and the lowest of the people would feel themselves hurt by any freedoms of expression, even from a nobleman of the first rank, and believe themselves justified in manifesting their resentment. Thus every one is upon his guard, and all ranks respect each other mutually.—Ed.

* The Japanese do not prepare their soap themselves, but receive it in small quantities from the Dutch; they only wash their linen in hot water; sometimes also with a lime, which has the property of making a lather.

They have, probably, taken the word for soap from the Portuguese.

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It is strange, that they call money (in Russian, dengi) deni; and anchor (in Russian takor) takori. Is the similiarity of these words merely accidental?*

I have had already occasion to mention in my narrative, that in books, state papers, and correspondence between people of the higher class, the Chinese method of writing is used; namely, by symbols. The common people, when they write, use an alphabet, which consists of forty-eight letters, but many of them are properly not letters but syllables, as † *me*, *mi*, *mo*, *mu*; *ni*, *no*, *ke*, *ki*, *kiu*.

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* Their language differs so much from the Chinese, that all the early writers consider their origin not to have been from that nation, but from various other sources: a variety which they think to be absolutely manifested, by a most sensible difference between the inhabitants of the different provinces of the empire, not only in person, but also in mind; supposing this population to have arisen partly from colonies sent thither expressly, and perhaps partly from shipwrecks which must always have been frequent in a climate so tempestuous. Nay it is even laid down as a positive fact, that in the western provinces of Ximo, there are many families of Portuguese origin. The Tartars are considered, however, by Martini and others, as affording the principal stock.—Ed.

† We have left these syllables spelt as we find them in the original; the reader must however remark, that the vowels are pronounced in German nearly as in French.

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The Japanese pronunciation is excessively difficult for us Europeans: there are syllables which are not pronounced like *te* or *de*, but something between, which we are quite unable to produce. In the same manner there are middle sounds between *be* and *pe*, *sse* and *sche*, *ge* and *che*, *che* and *se*. No European would succeed in pronouncing the Japanese word for fire; I have studied at it two years, but in vain: when pronounced by the Japanese it seemed to sound like *fi*, *chi*, *psi*, *fsi*, pronounced through the teeth; but, however we turned and twisted our tongues about, the Japanese persisted in their "not right!" and such words are very numerous in the Japanese language.*

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* There are many particularities in the Japanese language, which our author could not readily have opportunities of knowing. Kœmpfer asserts, in which he is confirmed by the Jesuits, that the language is plain, distinct, and easily articulated, never having more than two letters combined in one syllable. Some of our letters, however, they cannot pronounce. To H they can give no sound but F. They write in a perpendicular line, in characters not remarkable for neatness; the genius of their language also requiring that their characters, many of which are words, should be sometimes transposed, sometimes joined to others, or to particles invented for this express purpose—a custom so necessary, says Charlevoix, that whenever they print Chinese books in Japan, they are obliged to add these words or particles, to enable the people to read and to understand them. The principle on which the language is written, is nearly similar to that of China, the characters having the ideas attached to their figure, previous to any

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The Japanese having prohibited us from learning to write their language, we had no opportunity of making ourselves acquainted with their grammar; but to judge of it by what we learned, it cannot be very difficult, as the substantives and verbs undergo but few changes.* The declinations are formed by particles annexed to the verbs. The verbs have no change for person, number, or mood, but only for tenses, of which they have three; the others are expressed by words such as, long since, soon, &c. The prepositions follow the substantives to which they refer; the conjunctions too, in certain cases, follow the sentences which they connect together. In almost all known languages the personal pronouns are monosyllables, but in Japan they are very long; *I*, watagosi; *we*, watagosi-tono; *he*, kono; *she*, kono-daz.

In learning the Japanese language there is another difficulty to conquer, besides the reading

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sound being given to them. Thus ideas are expressed, independent of sounds; and writing may truly be said to speak to the eyes. Memory is thus put to the test, but ambiguity is said to be avoided.—Ed.

* The Japanese jealousy of foreigners has induced them, says Thunberg, to permit no foreigner to acquire any knowledge of their language, as far as they can prevent it. The intercourse at Nangasaki, in his time, was always carried on by about fifty Japanese interpreters, who alone were permitted to learn Dutch. Ed

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and pronunciation of it, and that is, the uncommon number of words: many things and actions have two names; one is used when they speak to their superiors, or their equals, and desire to be polite; the other only with common people, and in ordinary conversation. It may, therefore, almost be said, that the Japanese have two languages, which, as far as I know, is not to be found among any other nation in the world. This too seems to me to shew a certain degree of popular civilization.*

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* In the "*Ambassades Mémorables*" of the Dutch, published at Amsterdam, in 1680, it is expressly stated that they have but one language; but then it is so varied in its nature that it may be compared to a number of dialects. The same thing has often different denominations, some estimable, others the reverse, with regard to its qualities, varying also when spoken by a prince or one of the people. Nay, it is said that there are words which may be used by ladies in one sense, which change their meaning, when spoken by a man. It is added that the spoken and written languages are entirely different; and, that the written and printed languages differ also, as well as those of poetry and prose. Some of their letters are then said to have the force of a word, sometimes of a whole sentence, like the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians and Chinese.—Ed.

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CHAPTER IV.

Religion and Religious Customs.

I HAVE mentioned that the prevailing religion of Japan is derived from India, as the Japanese themselves attest, and is a branch of the religion of the Bramins; but millions, perhaps the greater part of the people, follow other religious doctrines, which cannot properly be called sects, as they are not branches of the prevailing religion, and have quite another origin. The Japanese, with whom we conversed on the articles of their belief, are not agreed in the number of the kinds of religion among them. Some said there were seven, and others only four: the latter affirmed, that three of the seven were only sects which superstition had formed from the four principal religions: these are the following—

I. The most ancient religion in Japan, which is followed by the aboriginal inhabitants of this kingdom; at present, indeed, disfigured in many particulars, and no longer the prevailing religion of the people; but deserving the first place on account of its antiquity.* The adherents of this

* Of this ancient religion, the Jesuits assert that no trace whatever can be found in China: but in Japan it still existed

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religion believe that they have a preference before the others, because they adore the ancient peculiar divinities called Kami; that is, the immortal spirits, or children of the highest being, who are very numerous. They also adore and pray to saints, who have distinguished themselves by a life agreeable to heaven, uncommon piety and zeal for religion. They build temples to them, and call

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entire two centuries ago, notwithstanding the great progress made by the disciples of Confucius, and the different sects whose principles were introduced from Hindostan and the oriental Archipelago: and, as no trace of the ancient religion of China can be found amongst them, it is thence inferred that they owe no part of their first peopling to the Chinese, otherwise some vestiges must have remained.

But there must be a religion older than this, (unless we believe it a debased remnant of christianity,) if we are to believe Possevin and Bayle, who assert, upon authority which to them appeared conclusive, that one of the sects in Japan teaches, or rather taught, that there is a sole principle of all things, clear, luminous, incapable of augmentation or diminution, wise, without figure or limits, sovereignly perfect; and yet, strange to tell, destitute of reason and intelligence, without activity, and as tranquil as a man whose attention is fixed upon any particular subject, without thinking of any other. This principle they believe to be in all created beings, and to communicate to them their essence; and into this principle they suppose mankind to dissolve and to return after death.

Though they believe their gods immortal, yet they do not consider them as existing from all eternity; but say, that in the first motion of chaos, which with them is the principle of all

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them *Chadotschi*. It is probable that they have not all obtained this honour by their way of life, and their piety; there are saints among them, as the Japanese themselves assured us, who obtained the reputation of sanctity by the intrigues of the clergy for their own advantage. The spiritual Emperor is the head, and high priest of this religion: he is the judge of the life of men upon

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things, the gods were produced by their own invisible power. They suppose all the gods to have appeared at the same moment of time; but they speak also of a succession of celestial spirits, of beings purely spiritual, whom they assert to have been the governors of Japan during a long course of ages. To the earliest of these celestial governors they give metaphorical names; and they have confused traditions of one having a son who formed a dynasty half gods and half men, from whom the present Japanese are sprung.

The believers in this ancient religion, or sect of Camis, reckon seven celestial spirits, and fifty-five gods who seem to be the deified emperors of the first and second dynasties; to whom are added a few of the earliest monarchs of the true historical era. But it has been said, as remarked in another note, that the Japanese are ignorant of metaphysics, a fact which seems corroborated by the faith of the religion, wherein the celestial spirits partake much of material form and quality. It is also their opinion that, at the commencement of all things, chaos floated in like manner as fish swim about in water for their pleasure. From this chaos something came which resembled a thorn, and which was susceptible of motion and transformation. This thing became a soul and spirit, from whence proceeded the other spirits.—Ed.

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earth, and determines those who are to be received among the number of the saints.

Cleanliness of body is one of the chief and indispensible rules of this religion. The adherents of it are not permitted to kill or to eat animals used in labour, or in domestic services, that they may not defile themselves. Thus, they may not eat beef, but they eat poultry, deer, hares, and even bears: they are also permitted to feed upon fish, and upon all kinds of sea animals. They must avoid staining themselves with blood, as this may defile them for a certain time. Touching a corpse, nay entering a house in which one is lying, defiles them for a number of days more or less, according to circumstances; they therefore take all possible pains to avoid defiling themselves.

This religion has a sect who eat no land animal, but only sea animals and fish: some of our guards belonged to this sect. Some often ate deer and bears' flesh with us; others, on the contrary upon the days when meat was set before us, would not even light their pipes at the same fire with us: at other times they smoked out of our pipes, gave us theirs, nay, even drank their tea out of the cups which we had used. At first, I believed that they were adherents of different religions, but learned afterwards that the difference merely con-

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sisted in some particular rules adopted by the sect, the principal of which is, prohibition to eat the flesh of any land animal.

II. The religion derived from the Bramins, transplanted from India to Japan.*—In Japan it also teaches the transmigration of souls, or that the souls of men and animals are beings of the same kind, which inhabit sometimes the bodies of

* The facts, connected with this religion, manifest in a most extraordinary degree the rapid spreading of the knowledge, though corrupted, of the Christian religion to the eastward of Judea. About the year A. D. 55, the Chinese emperor, Mimti, heard of a sect in India called the sect of *Xaca*, and he was so much pleased with their tenets, as to send special messengers thither, with orders to acquire a perfect knowledge of their forms and opinions. About the year A. D. 62, these messengers, returning by way of Japan, found the tenets of Xaca already introduced there,—a brief sketch of which will suffice to prove the fact in question. Some of these were that there are future recompenses established for virtue, and punishment for vice: that good men after death are received into a place of happiness where all desires are fulfilled, but the wicked shut up in a place of torment; that Xaca is the saviour of mankind; that he was born of a female in order that he might recal man to the way of salvation from whence he had previously seen that they had strayed; that he came to expiate the sins of the world, in order that, after death, they might acquire a happy resurrection; and that the Godhead consists of three persons in unity—a coincidence in chronology and doctrine which strikes at the very root of those assertions of infidelity, that would look for the origin of the Christian gospel,

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men and sometimes those of animals. It therefore forbids them to kill any thing that has life. Besides, this religion very strictly forbids theft, adultery, lies, and drunkenness. These commandments are truly good and wholesome, but all the other rules in respect to abstinence and way of life, which the adherents of this faith must observe, are so absurd, burdensome, and difficult to be followed, that there are probably few people who are pious, and at the same time strong enough to per-

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in the corrupted traditions of the East, supported by the unfounded assertions of anterior antiquity. *(See Charlevoix.)*

The limits of a note do not admit of further detail; but the subject is well worthy the attention of Christian Divines, anxious to overturn the strong hold of modern scepticism.

It is a remarkable fact, that the followers of this religion worship an image with three heads and forty hands, as a symbol of a Trinity of persons in the godhead, and of the universality of the divine operations. They believe also that, whatever crimes may have been committed, the sinner may expect salvation if he dies invoking the Deity, whom they represent as having undergone a most severe penance, in order to wash away the sins of mankind. They also believe that this God is invisible, and of a nature quite distinct from the elements of matter; that he existed before the creation of heaven and earth; that he had no beginning, and will have no end; that all things were created by him; that his essence is spread through the heavens, upon the earth, and beyond it; that he is present every where; that he governs and preserves all things; that he is immovable, immaterial, and ought to be reverenced as the inexhaustible source of all good.—Ed.

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form even the half of what this religion commands. On this account there are more bad people, as well among the clergy as among the laymen in this religion, than in any other in Japan.

III. The religion of the Chinese, as it is called in Japan, or the doctrine of Confucius, which is highly esteemed by the Japanese.—The greater part of the Japanese men of learning and philosophers follow this doctrine.*

IV. The adoration of the heavenly bodies.—They consider the sun as the highest divinity, then follow the moon and stars. Almost every constellation forms a separate divinity: these divinities contend with each other, and make peace; form alliances by marriage; seek to outwit and to injure

* Connected with the religion of Confucius is a sect of moralists, or *methodists*, as their name of *Siuto* signifies the "method of philosophers." It is a curious fact that this sect was established five hundred and fifty one years before the Christian era, the destruction of which religion in Japan, in the seventeenth century, says Charlevoix, drew this sect along with it in its fall. Their doctrine taught that the sovereign perfection of man consisted in a wise and virtuous life; but they had no idea of future rewards and punishments, beyond the natural consequences of virtue and vice—the satisfaction resulting from the conciousness of having acted well, or the remorse always attendant upon a vicious course. They were supposed to have been particularly favorable to the propagation of Christianity in that country; whence arose the simultaneous persecution of both religions.—Ed.

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each other; in short, according to the belief of the Japanese, they have all human weaknesses, and live like men, only with the difference that they are immortal, and assume any shape they please. This religion gave origin to a sect who adore fire, and consider it as a divinity derived from the sun.

These are the four principal religions in Japan, with which the Japanese themselves made us acquainted. I must, however, observe, that when our conversation turned on religious subjects, the Japanese answered our questions very unwillingly, and often pretended not to understand us, or gave quite unsatisfactory and unintelligible answers. They sometimes did not answer us at all, and questioned us respecting our faith. As the Japanese would not permit us to learn to read and write, we were destitute of every means to penetrate more deeply into the knowledge of their religious concerns, which present such a vast field of sensible and absurd rules, of false and ridiculous traditions, religious ceremonies, &c. that the two years of our imprisonment would scarcely have sufficed to learn and to describe all, if we had been well versed in the language, and could have profited by the acquaintance and frankness of the inhabitants.

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There are free-thinkers among the Japanese as among us, and perhaps they are as numerous.* I have not heard that there were deists among them, but atheists and sceptics. These deny the existence of a Supreme Being, ascribe the creation and government of the world all to chance, and doubt of every thing. Our friend Teske was of this latter class: he frequently conversed with us respecting his opinions. According to his notion, man knows only what has happened to him, the past and the present: the future, both in this world, and after death, is eternally hidden from him; therefore the doctrine of all religions on this subject is liable to the greatest doubts, and deserves no credit. Arguing on this ground, he affirmed, that man must not omit any opportunity in his life of enjoying whatever can afford him enjoyment; for it is highly probable that death puts an end to every thing, and that man lives but once. Besides, in the enjoyment of all possible pleasures, we must endeavour to procure them to others, not out of fear of punishment after death, but that others may also endeavour to make our lives agree-

* All the early writers assert that, notwithstanding the infinity and variety of the Gods introduced into Japan, all the grandees are decided Atheists, and actually disbelieve the immortality of the soul, although they preserve public appearances, by professing an adherence to some particular sect.—Ed.

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able. In this manner, continued he, men must endeavour to afford each other every pleasure suitable to the taste and inclinations of each, of whatever kind they may be. But as it is not to be expected, that a whole nation should become philosophers, and comprehend this truth, and as the majority would probably make use of this doctrine only to the injury of others, it is absolutely necessary to deceive the common people, and convince them that there is a superior power which sees our most secret actions, and to which we must one day give a strict account of all the evil done to our fellow-creatures, and severely atone for it. In a word, he considered every religion as a fraud, necessary for the good of the people.* We made our objections to such principles, but as he understood very little Russian,

* The Jesuits assure us that every Japanese yields strict obedience to whatever is required by that religion which he may have embraced. He always acts decisively, and can never be accused of making religion subservient to his worldly interests. Even those, who do not believe in the Gods of the country, never fail to comply outwardly with the forms of worship that are prescribed. This is said, and being acknowledged by the Jesuits, may well be believed not to spring from hypocrisy, but from the love of order, and the fear of affording ground for scandal and for remissness amongst the people, whom they consider as requiring some bond of that nature to keep them within bounds and to preserve social order.—Ed.

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and we as little Japanese, our arguments entirely failed of producing any effect.

Curiosity induced me to ask whether it was allowed in Japan to speak freely and unreservedly on such subjects? "There is no law to forbid it," said Teske; "but the hatred of the ecclesiastics falls upon him, who rejects or ridicules their absurd doctrines. Besides, they may accuse any one, who seeks to turn people from the faith which they profess. If the accused is convicted, the government condemns him to imprisonment for a certain time. But if any body preaches the Christian or any other foreign religion, he must die a cruel death."

Teske and many other Japanese spoke very unfavorably of their priests.* "The servants of our

* Yet it is a curious fact that the early writers describe the priesthood as possessed of the most knowledge in all the sciences. These superintend all the academies, and they are entrusted solely with the education of youth, who remain with them until the age of fourteen. Notwithstanding all that has been asserted respecting the purity of education, in Japan, Charlevoix acknowledges that the pupils are said seldom to come out very virtuous; their masters teaching them any thing but good manners. Some of these academies are stated to have from three to four thousand scholars; and girls are educated at schools equally numerous.—Ed.

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temples," said they, "are, for the most part, licentious men, and though the laws command them to live temperately, to eat neither meat nor fish, to drink no wine, and have no wives: yet, in spite of this prohibition, they live very intemperately, seduce both women and girls, and commit other shameful enormities."

The laws do not subject any one to punishment for the non-observance and violation of the precepts of religion, even the priests do not concern themselves about it.* We knew several Japanese who made it a boast that they never visited a temple, and ridiculed their religious customs. Many of them publicly eat meat, in defiance of their religious laws. One of the officers who liked the custom of the Kuriles of Matsmai, to eat dogs' flesh, prepared it in so barbarous a manner, that even the Kuriles shuddered at it. He usually put young dogs alive into boiling water, took them out, pulled off the hair and devoured them.

* Charlevoix declares that the Japanese have brilliant imaginations; great knowledge of the human heart; and a rare talent in touching its most secret springs. He adds that the missionaries who have heard the sermons of their priesthood, have confessed that nothing can be more touching, more pathetic, or more in the finest taste of eloquence than these discourses, which generally throw their auditors into tears.—Ed.

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The number of unprejudiced Japanese is very small, in proportion to the whole nation. They are, in general, not only extremely bigotted, but superstitious. They believe in sorcery, and love to converse on miraculous stories.* They ascribe to the fox all the properties and mischievous tricks, which the common people in Europe attribute to the devil or unclean spirit. Among us, the thunder

* Some of the popular superstitions detailed by Kœmpfer and other writers, are so curious as to deserve further notice. The people, in general, put great faith in amulets of all kinds. To keep off all distempers and misfortunes from their families, they place a monstrous picture over their doors of a human figure covered with hair, with a sword in each hand; also dragon's and devil's heads, with large mouths wide open, large teeth, and fiery eyes. In some cases the branch of a sacred tree is hung at the door; in others, the indulgence boxes which they receive on their pilgrimages; or else long slips of paper, with necromantic characters, supplied to them by the priests. Some of these latter are general commissions against all misfortunes: but when the devotee is afraid of any mishap in particular, he applies for an amulet for that express purpose. The most numerous of these are against poverty; which Kœmpfer seems to think endued with a second virtue, that of being a certain safeguard against thieves and housebreakers—people, if rich and prosperous, seldom feeling it necessary to apply for an amulet against the loss of what they possess.

Amongst their superstitions is one respecting earthquakes, which are here very frequent, often producing great alarm, and sometimes overthrowing entire cities, burying the inhabitants in the ruins. These violent shocks are attributed to a monstrous

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kills, with a stone arrow; in Japan it is a cat which is hurled down by the lightning. In Russia, when you praise any one, you must spit three times that he may not become sick; if you give any one salt at table, you must laugh, in order not to quarrel afterwards, &c. In Japan, nobody goes over a new bridge, for fear of dying, till the oldest man in the country, in which the bridge is situated,

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whale, which they suppose to lie under the land. In 1703, one of those earthquakes, accompanied by a volcanic eruption, nearly destroyed the City of Jeddo, with a loss of two hundred thousand of its inhabitants. In some districts these earthquakes are indeed unknown; a fact which the Japanese generally attribute to the powerful protection of their especial local deities; but the *philosophers* suppose it owing to these spots having a firm foundation, resting upon the centre of the earth. One of these favoured spots is the mountain Koiasan, which is covered with religious edifices—the effect, mistaken by them for the cause of its tranquillity. It is sufficient to say that volcanoes are very numerous; one of which is as high as the Peak of Teneriffe. Natural hot baths, of course, are to be found almost every where; some of which are supposed to have preternatural effects, just as similar baths and wells have been sainted in Europe; but it is whimsical to find a Jesuit recording "That the priests of the idols know how to draw a more real benefit and profit from these waters than the poor ignorant people do, since they have thought proper to attribute to them the power of washing away sin. Each, however, is considered as efficacious only against one particular crime; these impostors taking care to point to individual sinners the fountain in which they must seek an appropriate bath."—*See Charlevoix* 1, p. 13.

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has been led over it. Among us, the ends of wax-tapers, which are left at the morning mass, on Sunday, are a protection against lightning; among the Japanese, peas, roasted in a pan, which they eat at a great winter festival, and of which they preserve a part for the summer, possess the same virtue. They affirmed that, if, during a thunder-

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Kœmpfer relates a remarkable Japanese story of *Koosi*, a most famous apostle amongst them in early times, who was once entreated, on account of his great sanctity, to deliver a particular district, through which he was travelling, from a wicked spirit that tormented the inhabitants. Expecting to see him undertake a number of ceremonies, they were surprised when the apostle merely took a band of dirty linen from around his neck, and tied it to a heap of stones supposed to be the habitation and retreat of the demon. Koosi perceived their surprise, and said, "My friends, you vainly expect that I shall exhibit numerous ceremonies; but these things do not drive away demons: it is by faith alone that I perform what you demand; it is by faith alone that I perform miracles."

The time of Koosi's existence is not expressly stated; but he seems evidently to have availed himself of the historical part of the New Testament.

Many of their superstitions interfere with the most frequent concerns of life; especially with their travelling: and there are certain days on which scarcely any Japanese will set out on a journey. Nay, one of their most famous astronomers, or rather astrologers, Abino Sei Mai, has actually drawn up a list of them, like Moore's Almanac, which is printed at the end of their travelling directories. The very high opinion which they entertain of this personage may be drawn from their account of his

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storm, some of these wonder-working peas are thrown against the walls of a house, the lightning cannot enter, and consequently every thing in that house shall be perfectly safe.

On their high roads, every mountain, every hill, every cliff, is consecrated to some divinity; at all these places, therefore, travellers have to repeat prayers, and frequently, several times over. But, as the fulfilment of this duty would detain pious travellers too long on the road, the Japanese have invented the following means to prevent this inconvenience. Upon these spots, consecrated to divinities, they set up posts, in case there are none already there, to mark the distances. In these posts a long vertical cut is made, about an arsheen and

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birth—supposing him to have sprung from one of their princes and a female fox, which he had saved from the hands of his hunters. This fox, a fairy in disguise, appeared to him shortly afterwards in the form of a lovely female, of whom the monarch became desperately enamoured, and Sei Mai made his appearance, spending his youth in all the labyrinths of astrological sciences. Some wiseacres, however, who prided themselves in differing from the faith of the multitude, and in disbelieving every thing, took it into their heads to effect a counter charm to his predictions, by forming certain verses containing cabalistic words; but either the verses were bad, or the words were useless; nobody would trust the poets, and the unlucky days are still avoided.—Ed.

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a half, above the ground; on which a flat round iron plate turns like a sheave in a block. Upon this plate the prayer is engraved, which is dedicated to the divinity of the place; to turn it round, is equivalent to repeating the prayer, and the prayer is supposed to be repeated as many times as it turns round. In this manner the traveller is able, without stopping, and merely by turning the plate with his fingers, to send up even more prayers to the divinity than he is obliged to do.

I am not able to say any thing of the religious ceremonies of the Japanese, because they never could be induced to allow us to enter their temples, during divine service: nor did they even speak of it. All that I know of it is limited to what here follows. The prayers are repeated three times in the day; at day-break; two hours before noon; and before sun-set: as the matin, noon, and vesper mass, are performed with us. The people are informed of the hours of prayer by the ringing of a bell.* Their method of ringing is as follows:

* It has been stated as a positive fact, that notwithstanding the religious chaos which prevails in Japan, and existed at the first attempts at conversion, the traces of Christianity were then extremely numerous; that there was scarcely a mystery, a dogma, or pious practice of the Romish Church of which the Japanese did not appear to have some previous knowledge. In come-

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after the first stroke of the bell, half a minute elapses; then comes the second stroke; the third succeeds rather quicker, the fourth quicker still: then come some strokes in quick succession; after a lapse of two minutes, all is repeated in the same order; in two minutes more, for the third time, and then it ends. Before the temples, there stand basins of water, made of stone or metal, in which the Japanese wash their hands before they enter. Before the images of the saint, lights are kept burning, made of train oil, and the bituminous juice of a tree, which grows in the southern and middle parts of Niphon.* The Japanese offer

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quence of this, it has been supposed, nay indeed attempted to be proved, that the Gospel, though in a corrupted state, must have found its way previously to Japan. An Armenian Bishop has expressly asserted, that some of his travelling mercantile countrymen actually carried it thither in very early times; most others account for it by supposing that the Japanese may have acquired a knowledge of it, in a corrupted state, from the Hindoos, the Tartars, and Chinese, all of whom, it is well ascertained, were taught by sectaries of the Syrian Nestorians.

Many, however, of the forms and ceremonies found by the missionaries are supposed to have been of later introduction, and copied from the Portuguese who first went there in the sixteenth century.—*See Note, page 45.*—Ed.

* Where sects are so numerous and so various, there must be great diversity of ceremonies; it will be sufficient, however, to give a slight sketch of the public worship in one of the

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to the Gods natural, or artificial, flowers. They make the latter of coloured ribbands, or of paper, accordingly as the property, or the zeal of the supplicant is greater or less. These flowers are hung before the images of the saints, on the walls of the temples, or on the images themselves, as rings, &c. are with us. Those who are very zealous in their devotions offer also money, fruits, rice, and other provisions, which are very welcome to the servants of the temples. But the latter are not satisfied with these voluntary gifts. They wander about the towns and villages, and in the high ways, and demand offerings for their Gods. They therefore carry sacks upon their shoulders, to contain the gifts made them. They also sing hymns, make discourses, or ring a little bell, which every

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ancient temples, to present a good idea of Japanese doxology. On entering, they proceed to a basin, or small pond, filled with water, in order to wash before they offer up their services. Next to that is a coffer, where they may deposit alms. In front of the central building is the next spot, where they prostrate themselves before the majesty of the God. Here, in front, sit the priests, clad in rich habits. On the door of this central building hangs a gong, on which every worshipper strikes at his first arrival, to inform the God that he is come to worship him: after which, the votary looks through a window where hangs a mirror as a symbol that as he sees his own countenance, so does the God see his heart and thoughts—and this seems to end the ceremony.—Ed.

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one has fastened to his girdle. In our walks about Matsmai, we often met with them. During divine service the Japanese sit, as usual, on their knees, but with their heads bowed down, and their hands folded. When they repeat their prayers, they press their hands together, raise them so to their forehead, bow themselves several times, and pray half aloud.*

The difference of religions and sects in Japan, does not cause the smallest embarrassment to the government, or in ordinary life. Every citizen has a right to profess what faith he pleases, and to change it as often as he thinks fit. Nobody concerns himself whether he does so out of conviction, or regard to his interest. It frequently happens that the members of one family follow different

* As in other countries, prayers and ceremonies too often are made to suffice for true religion. Hypocrisy is very frequent; and a most whimsical instance of it is related by Kœmpfer, of a man at Nangasckí, who, whenever he received a visit from any person whom he suspected to be impure, or rendered unclean by the neglect of any of the numerous ceremonies of the ritual, always washed his house, all over, with salt and water.

The causes of impurity are very numerous; neglect of ceremonies always produces it, for a greater or less time; and with those who are very strict, it may be received by the eyes, ears, and mouth.—Ed.

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sects; yet, this difference of belief never occasions ill-will or disputes. Only the making of proselytes is prohibited by the laws.*

The spiritual Emperor or Kin-Rey, is the head of the ancient Japanese religion; but all the other sects have a pious adoration for him. He not only confers the highest ecclesiastical dignities, but also bestows, on the superior officers of state, the dignity,

* The universal toleration and freedom of religious opinions, Christianity excepted, are described by the Jesuit writers as proceeding from a greatness of mind, and natural rectitude of heart, and a loftiness of sentiment which prompt them to dare every thing, in order to procure a happiness more durable than that of this present life: in order to which they wish to know all religions of which they hear any intelligence; so that, indeed, up to the moment that the missionaries were driven away, every person was permitted to chuse the religion which was most agreeable to him.

The extreme readiness to be converted to Christianity is very minutely told by St. Francis Xavier, in one of his Epistles; and also by Cosmus Turrensis, in a Letter from Firando in 1551. Xavier declares, (in perfect unison with Captain Golownin's statement in the voyage) that they have an insatiable curiosity, and ask a thousand questions, especially about religion. During the five months of Xavier's residence, a day never passed without the priests, and numbers of the laity, being with him from morning until night, for the purpose of interrogating. They asked him: "What is God?—How is he dressed?—Why cannot he be seen?—How is it that the soul should have a beginning, and yet shall not have an end after death?"—Ed.

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or spiritual title of Kami, which the greatest men in the empire think it the highest honor to obtain. I have already had occasion to mention this dignity. The Kin-Rey is invisible to all classes of the people, except his own household, and the officers of the temporal emperor, who are often sent to him. Once a year only, upon a great festival, he walks in a gallery, which is open below, so that every body can approach and see his feet. He always wears silk clothes, which, from the very first preparation of the silk, are manufactured by the hands of pure virgins. His meals are brought to him each time, in new vessels, which are then broken. This, say the Japanese, is done, because nobody is worthy to eat out of the same vessel after him: if any one ventured it, or did it by mistake, he would immediately die.

The Japanese priesthood is divided into several classes; and they have high priests.* One of these lived in Matsmai; he had a large house and buildings, with a garden which was surrounded by a rampart of earth, so that it had the appearance of a little fortress: this proves that the dignity is held in high

* It is said, that all the guardians of the temples of the ancient religion are laymen, many of whom marry, and live with their families round those holy edifices, wearing their sacerdotal habits only when engaged in their ceremonies.

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honour. The Japanese told us, that his power over the priests extends only to religious affairs. If a priest commits a criminal offence, or is entangled in temporal affairs, he is tried, and sentenced according to the laws, without any reference to the religious authority. During our residence at Matsmai, the governor caused a priest to be imprisoned for theft and flight: he was condemned by the temporal judges, and executed. When we told the Japanese that this was not the way in which we proceeded with our clergy, but that it was necessary first to degrade them from the ecclesiastical rank to which the church had consecrated them, and then deliver them to the temporal judge; the Japanese laughed, and said, that the priest in question was a scoundrel, who was not worthy to have his head upon his shoulders: the tribunals and the laws of his country had therefore condemned him, and so he lost his rank and his head at the same time, whether the religious government approved of it or not. The high priest of Matsmai never waited on the governor, but was obliged to receive him once a year, in spring, in a little island near Matsmai, in a temple, which is dedicated to seven holy virgins.

There are also monks and nuns in Japan;* but

* There is one order of monks called *Foquexers*, who are well regulated and very austere. They rise at midnight, to sing

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we could not learn on what foundation the convents rest, or what are the rules of the orders. We heard only that the monks and nuns should lead a very austere life; but that they did not

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the praises of their Deity, and to meditate upon points of morality given out by the superior. Some of these orders not only make profession of celibacy and continence, similar to those of the other Bonzes, but are so jealous respecting their character for that virtue, as to adopt the most rigorous measures respecting it, forbidding all females to enter into the cities which they inhabit, where indeed they are the sole residents.

Of these monks and nuns, there is a particular order of mendicants of both sexes. All of these shave their heads; and it is said, that the females are under the protection of nuns at Meaco, and some other cities, to whom they pay annual tribute out of the profits of their trade, or trades; as these ladies are very frequent attendants upon the troops of pilgrims. Both sexes are described as being the finest looking people in Japan. The females, in particular, are the daughters of poor persons, their sole fortune their beauty; and they embrace this mode of life with the greatest readiness, because in it they are never suffered to want for any thing. They generally go in parties of two or three, travelling a few miles every day. As soon as they perceive a person of respectable appearance, they approach him with rustic songs; and if this person bestows any thing on them, they manifest their gratitude by following him for hours, entertaining him by their drollery. Many of them start from the bagnios upon this profession. They are generally good-looking and neatly dressed, and their habits modestly put on, with the exception of their necks, which they display with great effrontery.

Thunberg describes three of these mendicant nuns who followed his party with an even pace, for several hours, on the

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much regard this, and preferred the certain enjoyments of this life to the uncertain promises of the future.—In this they much resemble ours.

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road to Yeddo, although in the morning they had received a very handsome piece of silver. Their dress was neat and clean; but their incessant begging extremely troublesome. They were from sixteen to eighteen; otherwise decent in their behaviour, though the guides gave them a different character. They were daughters of the mountain hermits.

The nuns are called *Biconis;* and in many places there are monasteries of each sex, built close to each other, with temples attached to them, where they sing in separate choirs, as in various Roman Catholic churches. They are clothed nearly like the European nuns, and affect great modesty, notwithstanding which the tongue of scandal is as loud as in other regions nearer home. Charlevoix says, that these recluses make paper robes and other trifles with which they amuse the credulity of the people, drawing from this means a part of their support. It is, indeed, curious to read the whole account of these monks and nuns, and of the other members of the priesthood, in the Preliminary Book, of that author, to the History of Japan. Change but a few proper names, and it might be considered as the protest of one of our reformers, against the errors and practices of the church of Rome. In fact, the coincidences are so extraordinary, that it is impossible to read it, without wondering how the learned Jesuit could suppose it impossible for his readers to be blind to the counter application of his sarcastical remarks! especially as in other points he seems to pride himself in the resemblance.—Ed.

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CHAPTER V.

The Government of the Empire.

JAPAN has two sovereigns, whom the Europeans call the spiritual and the temporal (or the ecclesiastical and the lay) emperors: I follow this custom, but cannot allow that these titles are proper.* As for the temporal emperor, he ought to be called the Emperor of Japan; for he is the sovereign of an empire, which is not, indeed, very great in extent, but is very populous, and consists of many independent principalities united under one sceptre. The dignity of the spiritual emperor has nowhere any parallel, and is peculiar to Japan; we cannot, therefore, distinguish it by

* It is stated, by some of the Japanese, that the separation of the imperial and ecclesiastical power, during a civil war, was the actual cause of the present very extended state of depravity which exists with respect to female libertinism. During the conflict, the *Dairi*, or ecclesiastical emperor, was forced to fly, accompanied by his foster-mother and an immense number of female attendants, a species of temporary nuns, who were alone considered as sufficiently holy to approach him. Urged by fear of capture, his foster-mother, with the young *Dairi* in her arms, jumped into the sea and perished; and the attendants, thrown upon the world, and without the means of subsistence, were forced to adopt this unhallowed occupation, in which they were imitated by many others, driven to distress by the horrors of revolution. Another statement has been noticed.—ED.

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the title of emperor, according to the ideas we attach to the word.* In the ordinary affairs of state, the Kin-Rey, or spiritual emperor, has no share, and learns only occasionally by report, what happens in the empire; but in cases of extraordinary importance, the temporal emperor must consult

* The cares and duties of royalty, in every country, tend to make it an office by no means desirable; but the ceremonies connected with this sacred office must be worse than slavery. He is never permitted to touch the earth, lest he should be defiled; wherefore his locomotion is performed on the shoulders of his courtiers. Even his hair, beard, and nails, are only cut when he is asleep. He is obliged to sit during the greatest part of the day upon his throne, with the crown upon his head, and immovable as a statue, which state of quiescence is considered not only as emblematic, but as productive of the tranquillity of the empire. If, however, he should move himself in the slightest degree, or turn towards any particular province, they imagine that war, famine and desolation must instantly ensue. When this period of purgatory is over, he is permitted to rise, and the crown is left quietly to perform his sedentary functions. His head-dress and ornaments, as well as his habits, bear a great resemblance to the state-costume of his Holiness the Pope: but as a counterbalance to his temporary state of quiescence, he is permitted to marry a dozen wives! He changes his dress every day; but very little to the emolument of his valet, or to the shop-keepers in the Japanese Monmouth-street, since it is believed that any person putting on his cast-off clothes would instantly be afflicted with a general bodily inflammation. Even his crockery-ware, of all sorts, is broken, after being once used; whilst the cups and saucers of his twelve help-mates join in the general crash!—Ed.

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him; for example, upon the change or introduction of a law, negociations with foreign powers, declarations of war, &c.; but even on these occasions, the temporal emperor takes his measures betimes, and knows beforehand that the Kin-Rey will approve of his proposals: in short, the temporal emperors of Japan now proceed with the spiritual, as the more unprejudiced or powerful of the catholic sovereigns formerly did with the popes, to whom, after they had been wrought upon by threats or presents, ambassadors were sent with feigned submission, and humility, to implore the blessing of the holy father, and a bull, which was heartily laughed at by both parties, but was very necessary to blind the superstitious people. The temporal emperors, however, shew externally the greatest respect to the spiritual. Personal interviews happen very rarely: the temporal emperor visits the spiritual only once in seven years, but they frequently send embassies to each other, on which occasion the temporal emperor always sends to the spiritual rich presents, which the latter returns by his blessing. This is, indeed, no more than equitable; for the temporal emperor has the revenues of the whole empire in his hands, whereas the spiritual emperor must be content with the revenues of his principality of Kioto: he governs this province as an independent prince, or Damjo, as the Japanese call them, only with

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this difference, that the princes maintain their military at their own expence; but the Kin-Rey has no soldiers. The force required for the internal tranquillity of his principality is maintained at the expence of the temporal emperor, on whom it depends; this measure gives him entire power over the spiritual emperor, a conclusion to which we should certainly not be led by outward appearance. The two emperors observe, with the greatest exactness, the etiquette that prevails between them: thus, for example, the Kin-Rey always keeps some person, whom he nominates himself, at the court of the temporal emperor, to watch over his conduct, and to remind him of his duties in case he should neglect them. Among these persons there are some ladies, who superintend the conjugal life of the monarch and his consort, and their conduct; but these measures do not hinder his Japanese Majesty from keeping some mistresses, a fact which (with the exception of the above-mentioned ladies) is known to the whole empire. As to the empress, these female superintendants cannot be very necessary, as the emperor may make himself perfectly easy respecting the fidelity of his consort, because he himself appoints persons as guardians of it.

Among the marks of respect which the temporal emperors shew to the spiritual, one is par-

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ticularly remarkable: at new year the temporal emperor is bound to send the spiritual an embassy, with presents, among which there must absolutely be a white crane with a black head, which the emperor himself has caught in hunting:* no business can release the monarch from this obligation, only sickness excuses him; but in this case his son, the successor to the throne, must take this obligation on himself. This chace is, however, not accompanied with many difficulties: near the capital city, Yeddo, there is a great valley, which is surrounded by mountains, and intersected by lakes and rivulets, in which nobody, except the emperor and his successor, dare catch or kill birds, under a severe penalty; the repose of the birds is, therefore seldom disturbed in this valley, and it is, consequently, not difficult to catch a considerable number of them in a very short time.

In some respects the Japanese spiritual emperor might be compared with the popes, as they formerly were, but in other respects the comparison will not at all hold good. The popes were elected: on the other hand, the house of the Kin-Reys is hereditary; and for this reason they have twelve wives, that their race may not become

* The Japanese are very fond of hunting with falcons and hawks, in which they are skilful. They told us miraculous things of their huntsmen, who train these birds to a high degree of perfection.

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extinct. The popes governed in their dominions as independent sovereigns; but the state of the Kin-Reys makes a constituent part of Japan, and is subject to the laws of the empire as well as the other principalities. Lastly, the popes were the head of the predominant religion, or rather of the only one that was tolerated in all catholic countries; on the other hand, the Kin-Rey is the head of a religion, which is professed by only a part of the Japanese nation, though his power extends over the priests of all the sects in Japan.

We learned several times, during our imprisonment, how little influence the spiritual emperor possesses in the affairs of government and politics.* In our conversations with the Japanese we often expressed our chagrin at the slowness with which our affair was carried on, and expressed an opinion that even if the council, and the temporal emperor should resolve to set us at liberty, perhaps the

* Charlevoix asserts that the Japanese unite in their own character almost all the qualities which produce happiness under a monarchy, and also those which rendered the Romans, in the best days of the republic, the first of mankind. He alludes to it as intimately connected with their insular character; but having, in another part of his work, called them the English of the East, for qualities, too, which are neither very flattering to our own national vanity, nor very correctly applied to us, it is the more gratifying to claim the resemblance also in the present respect.—Ed.

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spiritual emperor would not approve of their resolution, and it was quite uncertain when the affair would come to an end. To these complaints the Japanese generally answered as follows: "You need not concern yourselves how the decision of Kin-Rey may turn out; if only the Kumbo-Sama (temporal emperor) resolves to let you go: the Kin-Rey will not overturn his resolutions, because he does every thing that the other pleases." They also assured us, that the spiritual emperors were by no means of so much importance as formerly, and that their power was merely in appearance.

In the year 1813, the Japanese told us, that the present dynasty of the Kin-Reys had governed, in a direct line, 2413 years, and therefore commenced six hundred years before the birth of Christ. The Japanese history has preserved the names and the years of the accession of all the emperors in the course of the twenty-four centuries; their number is about one hundred and thirty. In the first twenty centuries the Kin-Reys, or as the Japanese sometimes call them, Dairi or Dajosso, were in possession of undivided power. They were sovereigns in the full sense of the expression; but in the sequel, some military chiefs took advantage of the troubles in the empire, and began, partly by secret intrigue, and partly by open attacks, to set

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bounds to the despotic power of these sovereigns.* They succeeded, and about two hundred and thirty years ago, a general, named Kumbo, seized on the administration of the temporal affairs, and made it hereditary in his family: he left to the Kin-Rey, only the administration of the spiritual affairs of all the sects in the empire, and the right to give his advice and his assent, in important and unusual cases. The present temporal emperors descend from this general; they are called by the Japanese Kumbo-Sama, i. e. "Ruler Kumbo;" the division of the government between two emperors is therefore but a little more than two hundred years standing.†

The dignity of both the emperors is inherited by the eldest of their male descendants.‡ In more

* Though the Japanese pretend to have three dynasties of their emperors, yet the first two are now considered totally fabulous, and the third really begins about 666 years antecedent to the Christian Era. Previous to their first emperor, *Syn Mu*, they were nothing better than mere savages.—Ed.

† Many of the Japanese, who were less reserved to us, did not speak very much in honour of their present government. As a principal fault of it they mentioned, that the emperor troubled himself little about business, and would not examine any thing with his own eyes; but that the princes had usurped too great an authority over their subjects.

‡ The custom of Japan affords sufficient employment to its princes and princesses of the royal family, in drawing up and

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ancient times, in default of male descendants in the dynasty of the spiritual emperors, their widows and daughters ascended the throne; but now, in default of male descendants, both the emperors must adopt sons from princely families related to them.

The Japanese empire consists of many principalities which are governed by the Damjos, or reigning princes, and of the provinces belonging to the emperor himself, the administration of which is entrusted to governors. The number of reigning princes in Japan is more than two hundred; the possessions of most of them are but small, but some of them are extremely powerful: thus, for example, the Damjo of Sindai, when he comes to the capital, has a court and attendants, which amounts to sixty thousand persons. These princes govern their possessions as independent sovereigns: they have even the right to give new laws, only these must have no influence on the other parts of the empire; for in such cases no ordinance can be put into execution without superior authority. Every Damjo is bound to

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copying the records of the empire; as these are never printed until long after the events have taken place; previous to which these records are kept with great privacy in the palace, and never communicated to strangers.

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keep a certain number of soldiers, of which the temporal emperor disposes.*

The provinces which belong to the emperors are confided to governors, (Obunjo) and are occupied for their protection by soldiers from the neighbouring principalities, who are relieved every year: there are also some imperial soldiers stationed in them.

* The laws of the empire are very few in number; but the princes and lords have officers appointed in every city to regulate the police, direct public affairs, and exercise their power definitively, without any appeal to a superior court, exactly like the ancient jurisprudence of our feudal system. The emperor's proclamations are always very concise, which they consider as best befitting the rank of sovereignty, and for which no reasons are ever assigned, it being thought sufficient for the emperor himself to know the principle on which he founds his edicts. To doubt the propriety of these proclamations (unlike a king's speech in other countries) would be punished with death. Their mode of promulgating the public ordonnances is singular; yet similar, in some respects, to our own. In every city, and in almost every village, there is a place shut up with gratings, from whence all the orders and edicts of the emperor are published—called, in Japan, the supreme will. In each district the principal noble, or the governor of the province, notifies them in his own name; and for the instruction of the people, each proclamation is written, in good legible characters, upon a board fastened to a post; like many of our minor regulations on roads, rivers and toll-gates. The laws must be simple which admit of such simple illustration. Advertisements are sometimes stuck upon these posts, and the reward placed there for those who claim it!

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The supreme council of the temporal emperor consists of five members, who must, absolutely, be reigning princes; this council decides all cases which occur in the usual course of events, without applying for the approbation of the emperor; on the other hand, in uncommon cases, though of little importance, nothing can be done without the emperor: but in such cases the emperor has not the right to decide, without the approbation of the council. To judge by this, the Japanese government must be called a limited monarchy; but the emperor can change the members of the supreme council at his pleasure: however, the Japanese emperors do not venture to abuse their power, for fear the princes should resist and revolt; and how formidable they are to the emperors appears from the precaution adopted of obliging the wives and children of the princes always to reside in the capital, and the princes themselves alternately, one year in the metropolis and the other in their dominions. This council is called Gorodschi: the names of its members stand first in the Japanese court calendar, which is published yearly, and contains the names of the civil officers.

Besides this Supreme Council, there is another in Japan, which might be called the Senate, for it decides important criminal and civil causes. Cases of great importance are first examined and

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decided in the Senate before they come before the Supreme Council. It consists of fifteen members, who may either be princes or nobles *(Chadamodos.)**

These two branches of the government form the higher legislative authority, but are however very much subject to the indirect influence of the courtiers of the Emperor, whom the Japanese call Osoba-Kaschra. Among them the Emperor always has his favourites and confidants, with whom he privately consults before he gives his decision upon any affairs which the Supreme Council has laid before him.

The public affairs of Japan are divided into seven parts, or sections, each of which, according to its importance and extent, is confided to two or three ministers: these ministers are like the governors called Obunjo, or Bunjo, only to this title is added the name of the section. For example, Gogandschio-Bunjo, Bunjo of Commercial Affairs; Madzino-Bunjo, Bunjo of Police, &c.†

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* The Chadamodos form after the reigning princes the second class of subjects. They enjoy very important privileges.

† The word *Bunjo* therefore signifies not only the dignity of a governor, but also of a minister and chief of any important branch of administration.

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If the word Bunjo means a governor, they add to the title the name of the province which he governs; as for example, Nangasaky-Bunjo, &c. Counsellors, (Ginmijagu) and some other officers, are appointed as assistants to the ministers.

The sections of the government are:

I.—*Section of Public Economy and Revenue.*

As the taxes in Japan are generally paid in tithes of the productions in kind, agriculture, manufactures, &c. are under the same department that administers the public revenue.

II.—*Section of Navigation and Trade.*

I here mean the inland trade, because the foreign is very inconsiderable, and carried on solely for the account and advantage of the Emperor. The inland trade of Japan is very extensive, and is carried on chiefly by sea, as the situation of the country greatly facilitates the conveyance from one province into another. From the interior of the country into the sea-ports, and from them into the interior, the goods are mostly transported by the rivers and canals: where this communication is impeded by mountains, they use pack-horses and oxen. The different climate of the Japanese possessions causes a great diversity in the productions, and an extensive traffic in them, which requires a

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great number of large ships, and a considerable number of sailors.

III.—*Section of Public Works.*

This section superintends all kinds of public buildings in the whole empire, including the temples and fortresses.

IV.—*Section of the Police.*

This part of the Japanese administration is very important, because the suspicion of the Emperor, and his distrust of the reigning princes, obliges him to keep them under strict *surveillance*,* as well publicly, as secretly, by means of spies. For this reason, the first people in the empire, for whom both the Emperor and the people have the most respect and confidence, are always at the head of the administration of the police.

V.—*Section of Civil and Criminal Justice.*

In every principality, criminal or civil causes are decided according to the existing laws; but if they have reference to any other part of the empire, or are mixed up with the affairs of the state, they must be discussed and decided in this section. It is also the highest tribunal for cases

* This French expression is used because the English language is happily destitute of an equivalent word.—T.

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of appeal, and important criminal causes, from the imperial provinces, in case they are of such a nature that the power of the governor cannot decide upon them.

VI.—*Section of Military Affairs.*

It has under it all the imperial arsenals, founderies, and manufactories of arms. It takes care that the princes maintain the fixed number of troops in their possessions, and in due order, and that the troops do not leave their garrisons. It is also obliged to take care, that the empire is kept in a state of defence.

VII.—*Section of Religious Affairs.*

In respect to religious affairs, I have already mentioned that the Kin-Rey, as a sacred person, resembling a divinity, governs them without controul; but his dispositions must not in the least infringe upon the power of the temporal Emperor. In case this should happen, the latter very well knows the means which his power affords him to check his supposed co-sovereign, for whose divine authority he has not the greatest respect.

As I have already mentioned several particulars of the public administration in Japan in various parts of my narrative, I think it useless to repeat them here.

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CHAPTER VI.

Laws and Manners.

In the narrative of my adventures, during my captivity in Japan, I have had frequent occasion to speak of their laws and manners. My remarks upon this subject have, doubtless, already made the reader, in some measure, acquainted with the Japanese, I therefore pass over whatever I have mentioned before.*

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* Some of the extraordinary differences between the Japanese customs and those of Europe, are noticed in another place; it may be amusing to extract a few others from the description given in the "Ambassades Memorables," of the Dutch, in the seventeenth century, where it is said, that their ideas of perfume are totally distinct from ours, whilst in food, they reject all our delicacies, treating themselves with cates which would affect the stomach of a European. In Japan, husbands walk before their wives. In saluting, they uncover the feet, pushing their slippers a little before them. With us, diamonds and precious stones are in most esteem; but with them, vessels of iron and clay. Instead of giving their sick pleasant medicines, and feeding them upon chickens, the Japanese gave nothing but the bitterest physic, or sour and astringent, and fed their patients upon fish and oysters. European surgeons were then fond of bleeding; but the Japanese were Sangrados only as far as regarded drinking hot water, the name then given to their tea. When the Dutch laughed at their customs, they laughed at the

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The inhabitants of Japan are divided into eight classes:

1. Damjo, or reigning Princes.
2. Chadamodo, or Nobility.
3. Bonzes, or Priests.
4. Soldiers.
5. Merchants.
6. Mechanics.
7. Peasants and Labourers.
8. Slaves.

First Class.—The reigning princes do not all enjoy the same rights and privileges: some have greater or smaller advantages above the others, founded on conventions and agreements; in consequence of which the Princes joined the temporal Emperors, when the latter threatened to destroy the power of the Kin-Reys. These

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Dutch; but, with submission to the learned commentator, that was rather an agreement than a difference.

They have an extraordinary custom of changing their names three times during life, which produces great confusion in their histories, and often in their private affairs. The infantine name is changed as soon as they arrive at adolescence, which second name is dropped as soon as they approach old age. The family name indeed is still preserved, but then they add other appellations whenever they change their condition in life, or receive any dignity or office, and those changes are always performed amidst great ceremonies, in proportion to the rank of the individual.—Ed.

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privileges are different not only in things of consequence, but they even extend to the most insignificant circumstances of etiquette and ceremony. Some princes, for instance, have the right to use saddle cloths of beaver-skin when they ride on horseback; others have them of panther-skins, &c. But the greatest privilege of them all consists in their governing their principalities as independent sovereigns, as far as the general laws of the empire allow, and as is consistent with the welfare of the other parts of the empire.

The dignity of all the reigning princes is hereditary, and properly always belongs to the eldest son; but a laudable and useful ambition in the princes to have only worthy successors, frequently causes them to break through this rule. If the eldest son is incapable of supplying the place of his father, the ablest of the younger sons obtains the right of succeeding him. It not unfrequently happens that a prince, induced by the incapacity of all his children, deprives them of the succession, and adopts the most worthy of the younger sons of another prince, has him educated under his own eye, and leaves him his title and his possessions. The consequence of this measure is, that the reigning princes, in Japan, are almost always sensible men, well versed in public affairs: hence, too, they are so formidable to the Emperors, as

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they can always restrain his power within the due bounds.

SECOND CLASS.—The Nobility, also, enjoy very important privileges in Japan.* All the places in the second council, or Senate, all the im-

* It is asserted that although Japan was once under a supreme chief, yet since it has been under two masters, the divided authority has been very much weakened. Hence the higher nobility have profited of that division of power, and have assumed a species of sovereign authority.

Many of the rights and duties of the nobility, resemble those of our ancient feudal barons; they are obliged to maintain a certain number of troops, in proportion to their estates, like our own old knight service. To keep these in check, however, the Emperors find it necessary, to raise a certain number of household troops who are stationed in the palaces, and the various garrisons of the Empire. The policy of the Emperors has also always been to promote habits of expence amongst the nobility, so as to prevent particular personal aggrandizement and power, that might enflame ambition and endanger public tranquility: and they are obliged to pass great part of each year at the court. Nay, in many instances, their wives and families are kept as hostages, in a kind of splendid imprisonment in the capital.

Whenever a noblemen builds an house, he is obliged to make two gates to it, one of which is always very highly ornamented, and then cased up until the Emperor shall pay him a visit, when it is opened with great form and ceremony, and shut again for ever.

The nobility, like the feudal barons, have right of wardship, and regulate the marriages of their vassals; and are themselves bound to receive a wife from the hands of the sovereign.—ED.

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portant offices of state, and the posts of governors in the imperial provinces, are filled up entirely from their body alone. If a war breaks out, the commanding generals are chosen from among the reigning princes or the nobility. Every noble family has a particular distinction, and the right to keep a train of honour, which is made use of by the eldest of the family. The nobility is also hereditary, and descends to the eldest son, or, according to the will of the father, to the most worthy. If the father judges his legitimate unworthy of this dignity, he may adopt a son from another family; hence, a good-for-nothing nobleman is a rare phenomenon, which only the too great love of a father for an unworthy son can render possible.*

* The castles, or residences of the princes and powerful nobles, are situated upon the banks of rivers or upon lofty eminences, and as with us, occupy a large extent of ground. Most of them have three enclosures, each with its fosse, and a wall either of earth or stone, with a gate well fortified. The lord lodges in the centre in a square white tower of three stories, with a small roof in form of a crown or garland. In the second enclosure are lodged the principal officers of the household; whilst the outer one is occupied by soldiery, the domestics, and other persons of similar rank. The empty spaces are either cultivated as gardens or sown with rice. The white walls, the bastions and gates surmounted by turrets, and the central tower, covered with paint and varnish, of which there is always a profusion, present a very fine appearance at a little distance: and

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THIRD CLASS.—The Ecclesiastics, who consist of priests and monks, are very numerous in Japan, and divided into several classes, which have their particular privileges in the different sects: the principal of them are not indeed sanctioned by the laws, but enjoyed by the ecclesiastics among all nations, I mean idleness and luxury, at the expense of others.

FOURTH CLASS.—In the class of Soldiers, the higher military officers must not be included, because in Japan these are chosen out of the nobility, or another class, and such as have already filled public offices in the civil departments. Every body who is in the service of the Emperor or the Princes must learn the art of war, that he may be fit, in case of war, to be employed against the enemy. As the Japanese consider war merely as a temporary concern, they will not dedicate their

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the fortifications, though not very strong, are yet sufficient for a country where cannon are scarcely in use. By a law of the Empire, the proprietors are obliged to keep their castles in good repair; but if any part falls down, they are not permitted to rebuild them without an express permission from the Emperor; a permission seldom given, the policy for the last century, not allowing any new ones to be erected.

The extreme similarity of the Japanese customs to many of our own in feudal times, is well deserving the notice of the intelligent inquirer.—ED.

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whole lives to the service. Besides, the situation of the empire, and the pacific policy of the government, often make it impossible for a whole series of generations, from the grandfather to the great grandson, to serve their country in this line. Every Japanese of distinction, therefore, endeavours to obtain a civil appointment, and learns besides the art of war, in order, in case of need, to command the troops which are in garrison in the fortresses, or are distributed in other places to maintain order and tranquillity among the people.*

The profession of the inferior military officers, and of the privates, is hereditary, and therefore they form a distinct class. No soldier, however old or weak, obtains his discharge till he can bring a son to supply his place, who must have already thoroughly learned every thing belonging to the service. The boys are capable of bearing arms at the age of fifteen. If a soldier has more than one son, he is at liberty to dedicate all of them, or only

* Like the Christian orders of Chivalry, there is a particular class of soldiers who appear to form a kind of order partly lay, partly military, and partly religious: as their duty is to attach themselves to the immense and numerous hordes of pilgrims, under the name of "Soldiers of the Mountain." Their duty is to fight for their religion, when called upon; but at other times they live as pilgrims, or as hermits amidst the rocks and woods, consecrated to their gods. They are not bound, however, by vows of celibacy.—Ed.

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one, to the military profession; but as in Japan the service is easy, and the maintenance good, soldiers generally let all their sons follow the profession, and serve themselves till their death. If a soldier has no sons, he may adopt one, educate him, and let him supply his place. The laws allow both the soldiers and the other classes to adopt three children, but if these die, no more can be adopted, as it is presumed to be against the will of the Gods.

The military profession is held in great honour in Japan. The common people, and even the merchants, give the soldiers in conversation the title of *Sama*, (Sir) and shew them all possible respect. I have spoken before of the privileges which the imperial soldiers possess above those of the princes: Europeans who have visited Japan, have always taken the common soldiers for people invested with high offices; and this is very natural, because when European ships arrive, they generally put on rich silk dresses, embroidered with gold and silver, receive the Europeans proudly, and remain sitting, and smoke tobacco while they speak with them. At the beginning of our imprisonment we were in the same error: we believed that the Japanese feared us greatly, since they appointed officers to guard us. But when we became better acquainted with these supposed

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officers, we found that they were soldiers of the Prince of Nambu.

All the soldiers have the right to wear a sabre and dagger, like the first officers of the empire. In almost every village are two or three soldiers, whose business it is to preserve order, and to keep a watchful eye on the police officers. To deprive a soldier (dossin)* of his profession is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted on him. The oldest soldier, or subaltern officer, who was on guard over us when we escaped, was degraded, but afterwards obtained the rank of a common soldier again: during this time he suffered his hair, beard, and nails to grow, and shewed in this manner his profound affliction. The Japanese soldiers have such a sense of honour, that they frequently fight duels with each other in consequence of being affronted.

Fifth Class.—The class of merchants, in Japan, is very extensive and rich, but not held in honour.† The merchants have not the right to bear

* A common soldier is called, in Japan, Dossin.

† Thunberg asserts, that the merchants are the only individuals who can become rich; sometimes amassing very large fortunes: yet the most wealthy are as much despised as the poorest, the general opinion being that a man who makes money by trade must have done it by dishonorable means, and by the oppression

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arms: but though their profession is not respected, their wealth is; for this, as in Europe supplies the place of talents and dignity, and attains privileges and honourable places. The Japanese told us, that their officers of state and men of rank behaved themselves outwardly with great haughtiness to the merchants, but, in private, are very familiar with the rich merchants, and are often under great obligations to them. We had with us, for some time, a young officer, who was the son of a rich merchant, and who, as the Japanese said, owed his rank not to his own merit but to his father's gold: thus, though the laws do not favour the mercantile profession, yet its wealth raises it; for even in Japan, where the laws are so rigorously enforced, they are often outweighed by the influence of gold.

SIXTH CLASS.—The Japanese seem not yet to be

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of his fellow citizens. In Japan, a merchant can never rise into the rank of gentility.

The merchants have a religion of their own, and worship three gods. The first is represented as seated upon a globe made of rice, with a hammer in his hand; and they believe that whenever he strikes with his hammer, every thing comes forth of which they may have any need. The second they worship only at the commencement of the year, expecting from him, complete success in all their speculations. The third is seated with a most capacious belly; and from him they expect health, riches, and children.—ED.

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acquainted with the difference between mechanics and artists;* therefore the architect and the carpenter, the sculptor and the brazier, &c. belong, among them, to one class: their rights and privileges are almost the same as those of the merchants, except those which the latter acquire by their riches.

SEVENTH CLASS.—The peasants and labourers are the last class of the free inhabitants of Japan. In this class are included all those who go into the service of others to gain their livelihood; for Japan is so populous, that every body who possesses the smallest piece of land does not cultivate it himself, but hires persons who are quite indigent to do it for him.† We had soldiers among our guards who

* In Guido Gualtieri's "Relationi della Venuta degli Ambasciadori Giapponesi a Roma, as early as 1586, it is expressly stated that the people, the artisans, and labourers are neither so clownish, nor so gross in their manners as the same classes in Europe, but well formed, of sound judgment, and possessing a marked politeness of manners, as if educated within the precincts of a court!

The tanners are considered as the lowest class of people in Japan, because it is not only their trade to skin the dead cattle, most of which die a natural death, as little animal food is eaten, but also to serve the office of hangman, and they are not permitted to mix with other classes of society, but live in small spots assigned to them in the vicinity of the places of execution.—ED.

† The earliest visitors to this country speak highly of the peasantry, whom they praise for quickness of comprehension,

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possessed gardens, and paid labourers to cultivate them; they themselves went in their leisure hours a hunting, and sold the game they had caught. In this class they also reckon sailors, whom the Japanese call Fäkscho-Sschto, i.e. labourers. The lower classes in general are denominated by them Madsino-Sschto, literally translated, people who carry on their business in the streets.

EIGHTH CLASS.—The last class of the inhabitants of Japan are slaves; they are descended from the prisoners taken in ancient times in China, Corea, &c. and from children who were sold by

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readiness of conception, and good memory; adding that these good qualities are universal among the people, and appear particularly in the children of the peasantry, in whom it was easy to discern much early wit, and a genius very far from that of rude rusticity; and they are said to have often displayed a faculty at learning Latin, and acquiring the knowledge of various arts, far beyond the generality of Europeans. Poverty amongst them was then said to be a subject neither of contempt nor of reproach; and it was often difficult to discover it even when it really existed, so clever were they at managing their domestic affairs, that, whatever privations they suffered, they were always seen neat and in good order. They were impatient of injury; and had the utmost horror of theft, perjury, lying and scandal, and of all games of chance.

With the potent and with the humble, honour and glory were the great objects of pursuit; and so feelingly alive were all, to contempt or ill treatment, that the utmost precautions were always taken in conversation.—ED.

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their parents as slaves, from poverty and inability to bring them up. This trade in children is still carried on; but the law to make prisoners slaves has been also abolished since the time that the christian religion has been extirpated: at present prisoners are kept in confinement for life, as one of the most ancient laws prescribes; by this means the Japanese have the advantage that the prisoners cannot communicate their religion or their manners to the people. The slaves are entirely in the power of their masters.

I could not learn from our Japanese acquaintance to what class the civil officers, who are not nobles, the physicians, the *literati*, and the younger children of the nobles belonged? They told us that these persons were respected in the state, had titles suitable to their rank, but formed no particular class. The *literati* and physicians* wear a sabre

* It is said that the Japanese are better skilled in medicine than in surgery; but their medical skill itself may well be doubted, since their physicians are described as followed in the exercise of their profession by an attendant, who carries a large box in which there are twelve drawers, and in each drawer one hundred and forty-four little bags, filled with herbs and various drugs. These they carry into the patient's apartment where they select and prepare such as they think necessary for his particular case. They boast much of their knowledge of the pulse, pretending, that after feeling it for half an hour, they can develope every

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and a dagger, like all persons in office, and are on an intimate footing with them: but the Japanese could not tell us whether they possess a civil rank or any dignity answerable to it; we only heard that the eldest among the two hundred physicians* of the temporal emperor was equal in rank with the governor of Matsmai.

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symptom. They never bleed; they forbid no kind of food, but baked meats; and in short they permit the sick to take whatever they please, considering nature herself as the best and wisest doctor. Their great object is not to cure, but to prevent disorders.

It is stated by all writers that the Japanese physicians refer the origin of many disorders to the effects of wind and vapour; and, under that belief, they actually puncture the human body with needles, to permit the morbific or superabundant vapour to escape. It is a curious fact that a theory, with respect to gout and rheumatism, has been laid before the public, within the last four years in the *New Monthly Magazine*, where these disorders are attributed to the superabundant gas evolved from food, in the human stomach, being checked in its exit of insensible transpiration.

The Dutch physicians, in travelling through Japan, are always eagerly courted. The prevailing complaints are described by them as being mostly chronical, consisting of large indurated glands in the neck, cancerous ulcers, &c.—Ed.

* This great number of physicians might seem to the reader exaggerated; but he must be informed, that besides the obligation of attending the numerous imperial household, it is also their business to pick out every grain of rice for the imperial table with a pair of tongs. This, probably, finds them plenty of employment.

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The Japanese compare their laws with an adamantine pillar, which neither climate, storms, nor time can destroy, or even shake. The government is well aware of the defects of their laws, the principal of which is the severity of their punishments; but it is afraid of remedying them at once, lest the people should thereby be led to despise the ancient laws, and grow accustomed to innovations. The inclination of the people, to exchange ancient laws and manners for new ones, may, in the opinion of the Japanese government, prove ruinous to the empire, by causing revolutions in its political situation, the consequences of which might be civil war, and conquest by a foreign power; but that the people may not suffer by the great rigour of the laws, the ingenious policy of the government finds means to temper it, without impairing the force on the sacredness of the law.* Thus, for example,

* It is a curious fact that they have no books on jurisprudence; yet their orders and constitutions of society, which are not very extensive, are well drawn up and observed with great punctuality, since the slightest disobedience is severely punished, and without any appeal where there is a breach of the Emperor's ordonnances, or of the imperial laws. The princes and grandees are said to be exempt from this extreme severity, being generally sentenced to temporary banishment for petty malversations; but, if guilty of capital offences, they are condemned to death by ripping their bellies open, and all their families must perish with them, unless there is a special arret of the Emperor.

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the Japanese criminal laws prescribe the use of torture, to compel the criminal to confess,* when he obstinately denies it; but the judges hardly ever make use of this tyrannical expedient; nay, they are even commanded to induce the accused, by exhortations, voluntarily to confess his guilt, or to find out the truth by stratagem. If neither succeeds, and there is still a doubt respecting the crime, they must endeavour to find out reasons to justify the accused. The Japanese, therefore, use torture only when a criminal, who is already convicted, will not confess. The Japanese proceed with the same humanity, in cases where a trifling fault is to be visited with a severe punishment; the judges then endeavour to find out reasons to lessen the

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The general administration of the laws rests with the princes, magistrates, and even with fathers of families, in their different departments; and many parents have been known to condemn their own children to death.

Charlevoix nevertheless observes, that it must not be supposed, as all preceding writers had asserted, that the empire of Japan is not less agitated within, by factions and intestine wars, than the ocean which surrounds it, is by the tempests which produce such numerous shipwrecks!—Ed.

* Amongst the various kinds of torture I will mention only one. They place the accused on his bare knees, upon a very blunt sabre, or bar of iron, and then hang stones upon him, so that as the weight is gradually augmented his sufferings also increase This species of torture the Japanese consider, when compared with others, as the mildest.

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crime in the eye of the law, or by suppressing some circumstances to make the fault insignificant, and wholly justify the accuser. In the account of our flight from prison our readers find, in the conduct of the Japanese to our guards, a confirmation of what I have been saying.

In some cases the Japanese laws allow the person injured to do himself justice. A man who takes his wife in adultery, may put her and the adulterer to death upon the spot, only he must be able to prove that the crime has been actually committed. A father has the same right over the seducer of his daughter, if she has been guilty of a similar crime. The life of untoward children is entirely in the power of the father.

Law-suits are mostly settled by arbitrators, whom the parties themselves choose; if they cannot succeed in arranging the affair, it is carried before the courts of justice.*

* It is in cases where the government is not a party, that recourse is had to arbitration, instead of applying to courts of law, where the judge is supposed to decide, not according to statute, but agreeable to common sense. Such a practice in the law courts is certainly a good reason why two arbitrators should be preferred to one individual, who may be bribed or swayed by prejudice; and yet, notwithstanding the general vicious character of the nation, it is asserted, by the Jesuit writers, that the severity of the government, which never pardons a manifest injustice, much less the oppression of the humble and weak,

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It is seldom that law-suits can arise respecting the inheritance or division of property, because the fathers, who dispose of it at their pleasure, make arrangements in time. They seldom divide the property equally among the children: the eldest and worthiest of the sons generally obtain the largest share, and the others but a very small portion. The daughters* do not receive any

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joined to the general character of the people, reasonable enough to render justice, yet too free to submit to oppression, produces the best effects, and counterbalances any bad effects that might result from the system.—ED.

* The Jesuit and other early writers assert, that as soon as the eldest son of a family comes to years of manhood the parents retire, and place him in their stead; merely reserving as much wealth as will support them in their retreat, and enable them to educate and bring up their other children.

To have daughters is, under certain circumstances, a source of wealth to the parents, according to the accounts handed down to us by the Dutch ambassadors, in the 17th century; who relate that on the wedding day the lovers are placed in separate carriages, drawn by oxen or horses, at an early hour, and taken some distance from the city, to a spot where a great crowd is assembled. After the husband's carriage follow a number of others, loaded with presents for the bride; who, on receiving them, instantly presents them to her parents, or relatives, as an acknowledgement for the expense and trouble they have been at in bringing her up from infancy. The handsomer the bride, the greater are the presents bestowed, and thus a man with handsome daughters may consider his fortune as made.

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dowry; nay, if they are handsome, the bridegroom must pay; and if he is rich, the sum is often very considerable.

According to the laws, the Japanese can take only one wife,* who, in the high classes, must be of the same rank as the husband. The marriages are solemnized in the temples, with many ceremonies. But, besides this lawful wife, every one may have concubines, and as many as he pleases. These have, in some degree, the rights

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The Japanese *Hymen*, which is always placed upon the altar of ceremony, has a dog's head, to signify the fidelity necessary in the marriage state; and a woollen thread in his hands, the symbol of the strict union between the betrothed couple; who each carry a torch: the bride kindling hers at the lamps of the altar, whilst the husband receives the flame from her.—Ed.

* In the "*Ambassades Mémorables*," of the Dutch, in the 17th century, it is stated, that the Japanese at that period might have as many wives as they pleased; but that one only was considered as the lawful spouse, or was permitted to eat with the husband; all the rest being considered as servants: her issue likewise inheriting the greatest part of the parent's wealth.

All the early writers describe the women as extremely handsome; and yet they represent the men as very ill made, and having an air very different from that of Europeans. They are stated to be of an olive complexion, with small eyes, but less sunk than those of the Chinese; thick legs: a stature below middle size; the nose short, snubby, and turned up at the tip; heavy eyebrows; flat cheeks; vulgar turn of features, and very little beard, which they either shave, or extract by the roots.

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of wives, for their situation is not dishonourable, either for themselves or for their lover. They live publicly, and all together in one house with him. The husband has the right to separate from his wife whenever he pleases, without being bound to give any reason for so doing; but on this account, any one who has the character of being inconstant, must pay a large sum of money to a father for his permission to marry his daughter.

The Japanese women seldom marry before their fifteenth year; but the warm climate makes them marriageable at an earlier age. Our Japanese *literati* told us, as an instance, that in one of the southern provinces, a girl of eight years of age had become a mother by a boy of twelve; but I do not pretend to warrant the truth of this story.

The suing for a wife, the betrothing, and the marriage, are celebrated by the Japanese,* with

* Amongst the amatory superstitions common in Japan, it is customary for the lover to fasten, on the outside door of the house where his fair one resides, a branch of a shrub which Linnæus designates as the *Celastrus alatus;* a very curious plant, six or eight feet in height, with projecting, blunt, and compressed borders all along its branches.

Marriage is described by the Jesuit writers as a matter not of choice, but of state expediency. The nobles receive wives from the sovereign, and in return regulate the marriages of their vassals. Even in the cities the matches are always made by the parents of the middling classes; but with liberty of separation.—Ed.

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many strange and ridiculous ceremonies, and among the rich with great pomp, on which occasions there is much drinking and rejoicing; but the tenderness and apprehensions of the parents, frequently hinder them from freely indulging in their joy, at the marriage of their daughters. Our interpreter, Kumaddschero, visited us the day after the marriage of his daughter, and said, that he had married his daughter the day before, and had wept very much. "Why then wept," said we, "since on such occasions it it usual only to rejoice." "Certainly," said he, "I ought to have rejoiced were I but convinced that the man will love my daughter in future, and make her happy; but as the contrary often happens in the married state, a father who gives his daughter to a husband cannot be indifferent, for fear of future misfortunes." He spoke this with tears in his eyes, and in a voice which affected us.

A very singular custom at the marriages of the Japanese is, that the teeth of the bride are made black by some corrosive liquid. The teeth remain black ever after,* and serve to shew that a woman is married, or a widow. Another circumstance is, at the birth of every

* At Nangasaki the artificial blacking of the teeth denotes the married state, amongst the ladies: but in the province of Fisen, the custom is to pull out all the hair of the eyebrows.—Ed.

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child, to plant a tree in the garden or court-yard, which attains its full growth in as many years as a man requires to be mature for the duties of marriage. When he marries, the tree is cut down, and the wood is made into chests and boxes, to contain the clothes and other things which are made for the new-married couple.*

The Japanese may marry as often as they please: marriages with sisters are prohibited; but they can marry any other relative.

In general they are jealous; but this vice, if it may be so called, prevails more among the great than among the middling and lower classes.† Only

* People of condition have their houses divided into two apartments: on one side for the females, who seldom appear; on the other, a hall for the reception of visitors. Amongst the mere citizens indeed, and the lower orders, the women have more liberty; they do not shrink from being seen; but in general they are treated by their equals with great respect, and distinguish themselves by much reserve and modesty.

Some of the Japanese marriage ceremonies seem to bear a resemblance to that principle which has led us to call unmarried women by the name of spinster; for whilst some of the attendants throw into the fire all the toys and playthings of female infancy, others exhibit the wheel and distaff as peculiar symbols.—Ed.

† It is stated expressly in the "*Ambassades Mémorables*," that husbands who are not noble may send away their wives whenever they please, by giving them a certificate of divorce; but amongst the nobles and gentry, whatever dislike a man may

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the princes and the nobility, and the rich who imitate them, keep their wives almost constantly in rooms, to which no person of the other sex, except the nearest relatives, is admitted. This measure, is adopted by the husbands, not so much out of jealousy as pride. As for the women of other classes, they may visit their relatives and friends, and appear in the streets and public places

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have for his helpmate, he is obliged to keep and support her according to his rank. He is free, however, to take as many others as may be agreeable. This system is said to make the ladies extremely obedient, and even timid; for the husband may put his wife to death even for whispering to a stranger. The Dutch ambassadors observe also, that the ladies never travel but in a close palanquin, or covered boat; but they are sometimes permitted to walk out in an evening with their husbands.

The right of separation, when the parties are not satisfied with each other, is said to be seldomer claimed by the ladies than by their tyrants; who also have a right to keep as many concubines as they choose. But adultery on the part of a wife is always punished with death; nay even a little coquetting will cost them their lives. It is said of the Japanese ladies, by Charlevoix, that nothing equals the restraint in which they are kept, but their modesty and fidelity; and also that the Japanese gentlemen are, perhaps, the only persons in the world who have acquired the secret of gaining and preserving the hearts of their spouses, even whilst retaining them in a species of bodily captivity.

Whilst on this part of the subject, we must not forget that the nobles, also fathers, and husbands, have the right of life and death over their vassals, their children and their wives. Yet

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with their faces unveiled, but they must not converse with any person of the other sex, in the absence of their husbands. On the whole, the jealousy of the Japanese cannot be compared to that of other Asiatic nations; I even think that, if female frailty is considered, the Japanese should not be called jealous, but only prudent, or more jealous than the Europeans.

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they possess not the same power over hired domestics, although allowed a great authority over them, because responsible for their faults. If, however, in a moment of anger, a master kills his servant, he is always pardoned, if he can prove that the servant was in fault. Charlevoix says, that all domestic duties are performed more through love than fear; but it is evident that such a system must have a great effect upon social manners.

Father de Angelis, the Jesuit missionary, who visited the northern parts of Japan, in 1613, states, that every woman convicted of adultery was shaved on the head, in order to distinguish her from the more reserved part of her countrywomen. The punishment of the accomplice was whimsical enough, and might, perhaps, be introduced with some success in other countries; in fact, it went, in principle, something upon our own system; for the husband and the relatives of the frail fair one were authorised to strip the lover every time that they met him, and to take his arms, or property on his person, without his being permitted to defend himself.

It appears, however, that these severe punishments can take place but seldom, if we may credit "Master Arthur Hatch," who had been resident there, and writes to Purchas, in 1623, that "Murder, theft, treason, or the violation of any edicts, are punished with death; so is adulterie also, if it is knowne, and

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The Japanese are well skilled in the art of education.* They instruct their children early in reading, writing, religion, the history of their own country, and geography; and when they are older, the art of war. But what is more important, they understand how to inspire them, from their youth, with patience, modesty, and politeness: virtues which the Japanese possess in a remarkable degree, and which we often experienced in them. In my Narrative I have frequently mentioned with what patience, gentleness and mild-

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the parties pursued; but the devill, their master in those actions, hath taught them such cleanly contrivances, that seldom or never are they apprehended." It must be confessed that the ladies have a great resource in the numerous holy pilgrimages required by their religion:—of course a ramble to some distant temple is with them, equal to a trip to Brighton or Cheltenham, in the height of the season.—ED.

* The Jesuits assure us that, as far as they can convey knowledge, no means are neglected in cultivating the mind of youth, whilst no difference whatever is made between the sexes. In consequence of this the women are, in general, very well informed, comparatively speaking; inasmuch as they allow them all the means and all the time necessary for completing their education—the fair sex being excused from all interference with business.

Their system of education is described as being very rational; being founded upon gentleness, and an early initiation into the principles of honour and honesty, by means of a constant exercise of the reasoning faculties. This foundation being

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ness, they treated us, and listened to our justifications, reproaches, and even bitter expressions; though, to say the truth, the right was on their side. To be loud in dispute is considered, by them, to be extremely rude and vulgar. They bring forward their opinions politely, and with many apologies, seeming to doubt the correctness of their own judgment. They never make objections directly, but always with circumlocutions, and for the most part, by means of examples and comparisons, as will appear from the following instances.

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laid, the plan is to commence the study of the language—native only, as foreign ones are useless; combining the three points of reading well, forming their characters with neatness, or writing well, and speaking with elegance and precision. All this is considered by the Japanese as a serious study; to which they add instruction in the principles of religion: teaching their pupils, at the same time, how to discern truth, and to reason justly. To these are added lessons on eloquence, morals, poetry and painting.

Thunberg notices that during his whole intercourse with the Japanese, he observed every where that the chastisement of children was very moderate. He very seldom heard them rebuked or scolded; and hardly ever saw them flogged or beaten, either in private families or on board of the vessels. 'Their scholastic modes seem, if not an improvement, at least an exaggeration of our new mode of discipline; for, in passing the schools, the children might be heard to read all at once, and so loud as almost to deafen the auditor.

It is owing greatly to their education that the Japanese manifest great moderation in all things; but it must be acknow-

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We blamed their policy in avoiding all intercourse with other nations, and represented to them the advantages which the nations of Europe derived from their reciprocal connections; such as, profiting by the inventions and discoveries made in other countries; the exchange of their productions, by which industry and activity are promoted; whilst the inhabitants of Europe enjoy many pleasures and comforts, of which they would be deprived, if the European sovereigns, like those of Japan, should abolish all intercourse with other countries; in short, we advanced to the praise of our system, and to the disadvantage of that of Japan, whatever occurred to us, from what we had read and heard. The Japanese listened to us with attention; praised the judicious conduct of the European governments, and seemed to be led by our

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ledged that this also proceeds, in some measure, from the haughtiness of their disposition. In short, they are masters of the art of self-possession, arising from an innate greatness of soul; but acquiring the art of pushing it to an extent almost incredible. They never permit themselves to manifest any of that impatience so common amongst Europeans. They are seldom heard to complain; and instances of blasphemy towards their Gods are unknown. In the greatest reverses of fortune they display a most exemplary firmness, which far surpasses the so much boasted stoicism of the ancients. Even their enemies they never shun, but rather seek to meet them in the most private places; accosting them also publicly, and rendering them all possible services, even whilst meditating the severest revenge.—Ed.

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arguments to be entirely of our opinion. But by degrees they turned the conversation upon war, and asked us, "How it happened that in Europe five years never passed without war; and why, when two nations quarrelled, many others took part in the dispute, and thus made the war general?" We replied, that near neighbourhood and continued intercourse often gave rise to disputes, which cannot always be amicably settled; particularly when interest or pride are concerned: but when one nation obtains too great a preponderance over another, the rest, fearing that it may also become formidable to them, join the weaker against the more powerful, which, on its side, also seeks allies.* The Japanese praised the

* It was in 1624 that all intercourse was prohibited of strangers with Japan, except at the island of Firando, on the south-west, and the port of Nangasaki: a measure acknowledged by the Jesuit writers to have been occasioned by the recent intestine commotions; when, to use the words of Charlevoix, "Japan, in the midst of the most profound peace that it had ever enjoyed, was flooded with the blood of its people." In fact, the persecution of the christians was then at its height; for, whether truly or not it is scarcely possible now to determine, the Japanese attributed all their late civil wars to the intrigues of the catholic missionaries.

The Japanese contempt for foreign nations is said to arise from a consciousness that they have no occasion for their services or their intercourse. In fact, the Japanese fears nothing, not even death; which he seems to regard with a ferocious

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wisdom of the European governments, and asked how many states there were in Europe? After we had mentioned them all by name, they observed, that "if Japan and China entered into closer connection with the European powers, and imitated their political system, there might be more frequent wars and more blood spilt." "That might very well happen," answered we. "If that is the case," replied they, "it will, perhaps, be more advisable, for the lessening of human misery, that Japan should abide by its old maxims, and not engage

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gaiety, and which he inflicts upon himself for the slightest causes. The little account that he sets by his own life, renders him cruel in regard to others, without excepting even his own nearest connections. He is harsh and inhuman towards the weak and the infirm; light and inconstant towards all, through caprice and contempt. In short, Charlevoix designates him as the *Englishmen* of Asia; but if that learned and often liberal Jesuit had lived in latter times, perhaps for "*Anglais*" he would have substituted *Français*.

Notwithstanding their modern restrictions, it appears that formerly they were very friendly to the English nation, and put great confidence in them. When Captain John Saris, who commanded an English ship, arrived at Firando in 1613, the old King Foyne Sama, visited him on board, accompanied only by his nephew, the attendants being forbidden by the king to come on board. He dined with Captain Saris, who delivered him a letter from King James I, which he received with the greatest friendship. He had with him an Englishman of the name of Adams, left upon the island in consequence of a mutiny in a Flemish ship, who was much in his confidence.

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in connections and treaties with Europe, of the use of which you try to convince us." I confess I was not able to give a satisfactory answer to this unexpected objection; and was forced to say, that my ignorance of the Japanese language hindered me from proving the truth of our assertions. But had I been a Japanese orator, I should probably have found some difficulty in refuting this argument.

Another time, as we related the advantages of the Europeans, and the many pleasures which were quite unknown in Japan, they expressed a wish to spend a few years in Europe. They then turned the conversation again on Japan; and said,

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That the Japanese people, in general, are not averse from a friendly intercourse with foreign nations, and might therefore be readily brought into commerce with England, is evident from an observation of Kœmpfer, that their behaviour, from the meanest peasant up to the greatest prince or lord, is such that the whole empire might be called a school of civility and good manners; and he adds, that they have so much sense and innate curiosity, that if they were not absolutely denied a free and open conversation and correspondence with foreigners, they would receive them with the greatest kindness and pleasure.

Their love of novelty is also great; and in some places he saw the common German gin bottles, of coarse earthenware, employed as flower pots, in preference to their own porcelain; nay, some which had been broken were most carefully put together, from the value set on them, on account of the distance from whence they came.—Ed. *(See Introduction.)*

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that there were here two neighbouring towns, which they named to us, of which the one was very large, and the other, on the contrary very small. In the greater, the inhabitants were rich, and had abundance of necessaries and luxuries, but they unhappily lived in constant quarrels, and there were so many rogues among them, that people durst not venture in the streets of a night, for fear of being murdered. In the little city, they had only what was necessary, and the inhabitants lived all like brethren among themselves, and no quarrel was ever heard of. But as we gave the preference to the little city above the large one, they compared Europe and Japan with them, and, as it appears, not entirely without reason.

In their intercourse with each other,* the Japanese are extremely civil, as well young people to old,

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* Politeness is asserted by the missionaries and other early writers, to be very universal throughout all ranks in Japan: the very lowest of society treating each other with a degree of consideration that would be admired in Europe in people of the highest rank.

One most extraordinary mark of respect from the lower classes, towards the princes and grandees, is to bow with their foreheads to the ground, and then to turn their backs upon them, to signify that they consider them in so high a light, as in their own extreme insignificance, to be unworthy of looking upon them.

The lowness of the bow of the members of the imperial family, who are very numerous, is regulated by the insignia of their rank,

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as also people of the same rank to each other. They compliment by a bending of the knee; if they want to shew any body more honour, they place themselves on the knee, and bow down to the ground. But this is only done in a room; in the streets they merely make a motion as if they were going to do it. When they salute a person of rank, they bend the knee in such a manner as to touch the ground with their fingers, and call them by their name, while they draw in their breath, as for example: *Ai! Sampe Sama, i. e.* Ah! Mr. Sampe.

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consisting of a species of scarf that hangs from the shoulders over the breast. The length of this scarf increases in proportion to their place in the Court Calendar; and they bow until the end of it touches the ground.

In the "*Ambassades Mémorables des Hollandais*," it is stated that the greatest honour which they can pay to their guests, when going away, is to shew them the utensils in which the tea has been cooked, consisting of a chafing dish, a three-legged pot, a tunnel, earthern pitchers, and little cups, which they value more than gold or jewels.

Whenever it is intended to pay the highest possible respect to a travelling stranger, the mode is to offer congratulations, accompanied by a present, laid on a small square table, and decorated in the most superb manner. The present is never of any great value; but generally consists of a few oranges and dried figs, raised in a pyramid; on the top of which is laid a folded paper, tied over with red and gilded paper thread, at the end of which is fastened a strip of sea-weed, several square pieces of which are also laid round the oranges.—Ed.

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If they salute one of their equals, they bend the knee, bow, and lay the flat hand on the knee, saying: *Ai! Koniddschi, i. e.* Ah! to day! which expresses in Japanese a welcome. Or they say: *Ai! tenki-ioi, Ai! tenki-wari; i. e.* Ah! good weather; Ah! bad weather; or *Gogro-degusar*, which means literally to have a heart, and answers to our How fares it? When Japanese meet, they ask, after the first compliments, with great ceremony and many bows, after each other's health, relations, &c. Our sentinels never relieved each other without having first saluted each other, and stood for some minutes making compliments. When Japanese part, they repeat the same bows, and fix the time when they hope to meet again, as for example: *Ai! Kogonotz!* Ah! nine o'clock; or *Ai! Mionidschi!* Ah! to-morrow, &c., which signifies as much as our Good-bye.

In Japan they do not build of stone, except the foundation,* as they fear the violent earth-

* Many of their apartments are embellished with a painting of a divinity, or rich ornamented papers, on which are some favorite moral sentences of philosophers or poets; in some instances, they have grotesque caricatures of old Chinese, or of birds, trees, or landscapes painted upon screens; in most houses they have flower-pots filled with the most odoriferous flowers, according to the season, and in default of them, with artificial representations of flowers, impregnated with odours. These, together with perfuming pots of brass or copper, in the shape of lions, cranes, and

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quakes. The wooden houses are generally only one story high, and built very slightly, on account of the warm climate. The inside partitions, which form the rooms, are moveable, so that if they are taken away, the whole house may be made into one room. The Japanese have no stoves; and they

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other rare animals; hangings of silk net; vessels of porcelain, and ranged in the neatest order, all produce a most pleasing effect.

Their love of ornament is indeed carried to an extreme in numerous instances. At their feasts, it is often superfluous, and their ceremonials are never at an end. Their attendants are most numerous; yet a word is never heard spoken, nor does there ever arise the slightest confusion; but the plates are ornamented with ribbands; and if a partridge or any other bird is served up, it is sure to have its body varnished, and its neck and feet gilded. Their feasts are always accompanied with music; but excess is unknown.

Their gardens are considered by all former writers as the most striking and curious part of their domestic arrangements; all agreeing that it is impossible not to admire the beauty, magnificence, and good taste displayed in them. They generally occupy the rear of the mansion, are square, and appear to be dug out like wells. The descent into them is from a gallery projecting from the back of the house, at the end of which there is always a stone bath, for the convenience of bathing every evening. One part of the garden is paved with round stones or large pebbles of different colours, which they collect from the beds of rivers, or on the sea-coast; the remainder is covered with gravel, which is cleaned every day; for though the whole is kept in studied apparent disorder, yet there is always much real neatness

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do not want them; but they have fire, in little neat chafing dishes; the poor people on the hearth. The Japanese have no furniture. The floor is covered with clean and handsome mats, over which they often lay carpets or cloth for company. Arms of different kinds, porcelain vessels, and curiosities adorn the inside of the houses. The walls are

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in the arrangements. In the centre runs an alley or walk; whilst flowering shrubs, many of them rare and valuable, are disposed in parterres, forming an agreeable variety on all sides. In some places, especially at the corners, there are small rocks, or little hills in imitation of nature, ornamented with birds, or with brass figures of beautiful insects, and butterflies. Often a little river is led to flow from the top of the rock with a gentle murmur; and the whole is executed with a delicacy of perfection that leaves nothing to be wished for by those who can be content with the efforts of art to aid nature in a flower garden. Generally close to those artificial rocks are little clumps of flowering shrubs, thickly planted, to effect a close shade; and there are often considerable ponds filled with fish, and bordered by deep foliage. In all the arrangements, the Japanese gardeners give a preference to trees which are old, distorted and deformed. These they suffer to grow without pruning, often allowing them to enter their chambers; except in regard to some flowering trees, whose branches they cut off, in order to produce larger flowers. Even the poorest mansions, whose owners cannot afford to have gardens, are ornamented in miniature: they have openings in the wall, in which are large tubs of water with a species of gold and silver fish, round which they place flower pots, or plant some dwarf shrubs, which will grow amongst stones, provided their roots are supplied with water.—Ed.

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covered with coloured or gold paper; in the houses of the rich, they are inlaid with various kinds of rare wood, curiously carved and gilt. The outside of the houses is almost destitute of ornament, and the difference between the houses of the rich and poor people, independent of the size, is, that the first stand in a spacious court, which is surrounded by a high wall or mound of earth, so that only the roofs are seen from the street. All rich people have besides large gardens to their houses. The Japanese, in general, are great lovers of their gardens, understand horticulture, and spare nothing in this respect. The greatest ornament of the Japanese houses consists in the extraordinary cleanliness which prevails in them, and to which all ranks very strictly attend.*

* Their houses in general, never exceed six fathoms or thirty-six feet in height, seldom so much, except when there are store houses in the lower part. Even the Emperor's palace is but one story high, although some houses have two, but then the first is so low, as merely to serve as a receptacle for household goods, necessary for common use. These mansions, however, amongst the rich and wealthy, are neither deficient in neatness or convenience. Most of them are built of wood, and raised about four or five feet from the ground, to guard against damp; but as fires are frequent, every house has a separate *dépôt*, enclosed with walls of masonry, where all the most precious articles are deposited for general safety. The walls are hung with mats, fringed and embroidered, and ornamented with paintings, whilst the rooms are furnished with cabinets so much admired in Europe. The doors are always paper, embossed with flowers of gold and silver;

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The streets of the Japanese towns are extremely narrow, and as the houses, except those of the rich, stand very close together, the fires are generally very destructive, though nothing is easier than to pull down a Japanese house, which consists only of some beams and thin boards.

The town police strictly maintains peace and order amongst the inhabitants.* Besides the civil

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and every corner of the mansion is filled, both for show and comfort.

In their houses, the street door always stands open; but there is a jealousy or blind put up at the entrance, formed of small net work, which prevents the inmates from being seen, without impeding their sight. The Jesuit writers say that there is an appearance of great misery in many of these mansions; but with the help of a little rice, a few roots and other vegetables, they contrive to live, look well, and are content. They confess, however, that the number of shops in the cities, and even in the smallest villages, is most surprising, and that it is very difficult to conceive how a country, so isolated from all the rest of the world, can furnish so extensive an internal commerce, whilst their imports and exports are so trifling.—Ed.

* Charlevoix asserts that the number of cities in Japan, in his time, amounted to thirteen thousand, almost all of which were populous. He describes them as being totally devoid of walls, with the streets generally running in right lines, cutting each other at right angles, with gates which are shut every night, generally much ornamented, and with guards regularly mounted. The towns and villages are stated by Kœmpfer as too numerous for belief—909,858, generally built along the great roads, and

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and military officers, who have to provide for the security of the inhabitants, an Elder, with assistants, are chosen among the citizens in every street, who must answer for the preservation of peace and order in their street. On the public market places, and where several streets meet, guard-houses are

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well inhabited, principally by shopkeepers and artisans; these consist indeed but of double rows of houses, but are so extensive, and so close to each other, as scarcely to have marked limits.

The police of their towns is so very extraordinary, that a few observations, in addition to Golownin's information, cannot fail to be interesting, and may even afford some useful hints, though in the aggregate incompatible with British freedom. It will be, at the same time, curious to notice how much the principles of their police, in regard to mutual and social guarantee of security and remuneration for damages, agrees with the system established by our own Saxon ancestors, under the revered Alfred.

The immediate and active agents of the police, similar to our Bow-street runners, form a company, hereditary in a certain number of families, who reside in a particular street, in each city. Their ordinary occupation is to pursue and arrest criminals; but they also act as executioners, particularly when decapitation is the sentence. They are said to be very adroit at disarming culprits, for all Japanese go armed, and, for that purpose, they always carry ropes with them. It is certain that their office is looked upon with contempt; and yet they are actually considered as noble, and are permitted to carry two sabres, which is the distinction of gentility.

In addition to this, every street has a superintendant officer, or *Ottona*, who, like our constable of the night, preserves good order after sunset, and is bound to obey the orders of superior magistrates. These ottonas keep a register of all the residents in

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erected, which contain fire engines and guards. During the night, frequent patroles go through the streets, and nobody must then be seen without a lantern. A body of men are kept for the extinguishing of fires. In Yeddo, the capital of the temporal Emperor, the number of these firemen is no less

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their peculiar streets, of all births, deaths and marriages, of all who leave their homes, for the purpose of travelling, or who change their residence into any other street. The profession or trade, condition in life, and religion of each individual are also carefully recorded. When disputes arise, the ottona calls the parties before him, for the purpose of settling matters, but he has no power to inforce his recommendations, although he can punish slight crimes by imprisonment. Like our constables he can call on and oblige the inhabitants to arrest criminals pursued by justice; and he is moreover responsible, to a certain extent, for whatever takes place in his immediate district. Each ottona is elected by the inhabitants, by a majority of voices; a certain number of names being chosen and presented to the governors or mayors, for selection and approval.

To each ottona there are three petty constables, besides which, like the old Saxon hundreds and tythings, all the inhabitant householders of each street, are divided into parties of five, which will sometimes include fifteen families, each under the inspection of a chief who is not only responsible for their conduct, in regard to enquiry, but actually shares with them the chastisement of their crimes or faults. In each street there is a police-clerk, who writes out and publishes the orders of the ottona, and preserves the records. The office of treasurer is held by each of the inhabitants in turn, for a year, and there is a messenger, who posts up orders, collects taxes, brings information, &c. &c.

Every night the rounds are walked by the inhabitants, in

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than 48,000, who are divided into forty-eight regiments, each of which bears the name of a letter of the Japanese alphabet, which is also embroidered on their clothes, as a badge.

All the Japanese, except the clergy, wear their cloaths of one and the same mode; all ranks, without exception, cut the hair after the same fashion. The difference of the rich, the public

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threes, and in each street there is a regular watch house; and on festivals, or solemn occasions, this watch is kept through the day. On those days, the watch is very strict, for the individuals forming it are personally responsible for the slightest disorder. To oppose or to insult them are capital crimes. Besides these there is a watch of two at each gate, who regularly walk up and down the street during the night, to guard against fire and robbery. Thus there is regular gradation of security and responsibility; for the officers of the street-police answer for the heads of families; they for those who compose each family; owners of houses for their tenants; masters for their servants; the companies of five for each person within their limits; and sometimes children for their parents. It is acknowledged indeed, by the Jesuits, that this system often produces greater evils than those which it professes to cure; for it often happens that the slightest offences are punished, upon those who are not personally culpable, by banishment, perpetual imprisonment, confiscation, &c.

The gates of each street are kept closely shut during the night; and are even closed in the day, upon the slightest disturbance; the inhabitants of each street, without respect to persons, being called to muster, the absent noted down, and lists made of all supernumeraries then present.

No person can quit his house or lodging, without giving due

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officers, and the soldiers, is only in their military dress: those who have the right to appear at court put on besides, upon new-year's day when they pay their respects to the emperor, the long Chinese dress; but which is only worn on this occasion, and on no other. The Japanese are permitted to wear the usual Chinese dress, but very few of them make use of this permission.* The

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public notice, when an immediate enquiry takes place upon his conduct and behaviour, a copy of which is sent to every inhabitant of the street, where he purposes to reside, in order that they may deliberate upon his admission; and it is a sufficient objection, to prove that he is a drunkard, or quarrelsome, or addicted to any other vice that may disturb their community.

Even houses, when bought and sold, must be by common consent, and a per centage on each sale is paid into the public purse of the street. Those who travel must obtain not only passports, but permission; notifying also their intended purpose and time of return.

Whenever a disturbance takes place in a street, the inhabitants rush to quell it; for if death ensues, the three families nearest to the spot will be closely shut up in their houses for many months, whilst all the other inhabitants will be subject to heavy fines; and every man is considered *particeps criminis*, like the English law of riot.

Even in case of natural death, a species of Coroner's Inquest is held by the party, to which the individual belonged, and an enquiry made to ascertain, that the defunct was not a christian.—Ed.

* If cleanliness be a personal virtue, it may be justly attributed to these people. Thunberg declares tha in his progress

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father of our interpreter, Teske, wore the Chinese dress, and had not shaved his beard: from which we saw that every body, in Japan, might dress after the Chinese fashion, except the public officers and servants. The men shave the head and beard, but leave the hair long over the temples and in the neck; they bind it together with a thin white lace on the back part of the head; then bend it forward in a tuft, and bind it an inch and a half farther on, with the same lace; so that it lies fast upon the skull.* Simple as this fashion of wearing the hair is, the Japanese beaux endeavour to improve it, by using very fine pomatum; and take

through the country, it was the constant object of their Japanese companions and attendants to bathe every day during the journey. He adds, that not a day passes without the customary ablution, whether at home or on the road: hence there are regular baths in all towns and villages, in all inns, and in the most respectable private houses. They seem, however, unlike our fashionables, to be averse from salt water; for, during the aquatic part of his journey, they always went on shore to bathe, whenever the vessels anchored. Thunberg further states a fact, which ought not to be forgotten at our own famous City of Bath —the poorer sort of people bathing in the same water, it frequently happens that they catch unpleasant cutaneous disorders.—Ed.

* The priests and physicians of the higher classes shave the head quite bald. (Here the author contradicts himself: as he has just said, that all ranks, without exception, cut the hair in the same fashion.—*Remark of the German Translator.*)

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care that the hair lies very even and regular, so that it forms a solid mass; the hair tuft must perfectly resemble a four-cornered piece of japanned wood, which has at the top and two sides an opening. The Japanese hair dressers are really clever enough to give the hair such a form—but it does not cost a little time.

The female head dress* resembles the old fashioned head dress of our ladies; only with the exception that the Japanese women do not powder them, but put in the hair many flowers and ribands, and besides some gold or silver bodkins,

* The ladies have a custom of painting themselves, not on the cheeks, but the lips, with a substance called *bing*. When laid on very thin it gives a red tinge, which becomes violet by the addition of more paint. The latter is the favorite colour, and contrasts most curiously with their blackened teeth.

The women are described as attending, even more than the men, to magnificence in their dress; one custom respecting which must be very inconvenient. Over an extraordinary quantity of short dresses they wear a long robe, with a train several feet in length. Indeed the grave digger's waistcoats in Hamlet bear no proportion to them, as their vests or corsets amount sometimes to an hundred. Charlevoix adds, however, that these are so slight, that half of them may be crammed into a pocket.

When promenading the streets, which is not very frequent, these well-clothed dames are attended, not by footmen, but footwomen in great numbers, carrying handkerchiefs, baskets of confectionary, &c. These visits, however, are permitted to take place only once a year, so that their card makers can have but little employment.—Ed.

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which resemble our tuning keys. Of children who are not yet five years old the hair is cut every year differently: in some of them a circle of hair is left round the head, and the rest is cut away; others keep a tuft of hair upon the crown of the head, which is braided with riband; in others the hair is shaven from the crown of the head, and left only on the temples and in the neck, and braided with ribands or artificial flowers.

The dress of the men and women, in Japan, resembles our morning gowns without collars, but only the latter are a little longer. The sleeves of both reach only a little below the elbow, and are as wide as those of our priests' gowns. The under part of the sleeves is sewed together, so that they almost form a sack, which the Japanese use instead of pockets. The usual dress of the Japanese is called *chiramono*. The Japanese wear these dresses from vanity, or to protect themselves from the cold; sometimes, even five or six over one another, which they fasten by a girdle that goes twice round the waist.* All the Japanese, even those of moderate fortune, wear silk dresses, particularly on holidays; the rich choose still

* He who has the privilege to wear a dagger, or a sabre and dagger, puts them in the girdle, on the left side. The soldiers have a belt, but do not wear their arms like ours, but put them behind in a girdle.

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better stuffs for their dresses; the common people generally wear cotton. Dresses made of hemp are worn by the lowest classes only, and labourers while at work.* The Japanese have no shirts; but instead of them the rich people wear white morning gowns, made of the finest cotton stuff; over which they then put the Chiramono, and fasten it with a girdle. When a Japanese finds a room too warm, he pulls off the upper coat, and lets it hang behind on the girdle; if this is not enough, the second, third, &c. are pulled off, and he keeps on only one coat: when he feels too cold, one coat is by degrees put on again over the other. The women, out of vanity, wear still more coats, one over another; and their number often amounts to twenty, as the Japanese themselves assured us. But I must observe, that the coats are

* Charlevoix states, that the men never wear breeches except when travelling. These are made extremely large as far as the knee, when they diminish unto the ancle. These are slit at the sides, so as to admit the skirts of t e robe being tucked into them, to prevent its incommoding them whilst walking. Some, like us, do not permit the inexpressibles to fall below the knee; but, instead of stockings, cover the legs with folds of broad ribands. Servants, however, and the bearers of burdens, wear nothing but a small truss, without regard to decency. Indeed nothing is more common, even in their cities, than to see men, and even women, whilst at work, naked to the waist; their clothes being tucked into the girdle.—Ed.

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made of very fine stuff. The women gird themselves in the same manner as the men, except that their girdles are much broader, and the ends hang down lower. Another kind of Japanese coat is called Chauri. The cut is the same as that of the Chiramono, but they are longer and much wider; they therefore wear them over all the others, and without a girdle. These coats are properly the state dresses. The Chiramono is proper only to walk in the streets or to visit a friend: if any body intends to be polite, etiquette requires that he put on the Chauri, which must have the family arms embroidered on the sleeves, breast and back. The Chiramono is generally without arms.

The third kind of Japanese dress is called Kapa. This is the upper dress, which the Japanese wear in the streets during cold weather: it is always pulled off in the house. The cut resembles that of the Chauri, but the skirt is longer, and is made of any kind of coarse stuff. The Japanese do not wear breeches, except in their military dress, on journeys, the officers in the civil departments, on holidays, or when they go to their superiors; but these three kinds of breeches are different. Those of the military are like the Turkish, but not quite so wide, and are made of a strong silk stuff. The civil officers are very expensive in their military dress. The pantaloons for travelling are made also of silk or of cotton.

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They are wide, and without buttons; but have kneebands, and are fastened round the waist with straps.

With respect to the third kind of Japanese breeches, or pantaloons, which are properly part of their state dress, they exactly resemble a woman's petticoat; and the Japanese, indeed, wear them over their long clothes; the only difference is, that these pantaloons are narrower below than our women's petticoats, and are sewed together in the middle almost to the knees, so that this seam separates the two feet. The Japanese are very extravagant in this part of their dress. When we were taken to the governors, they, and the principal officers, had on different pantaloons almost every day; which were made of thick silk, like the *gros de tours*, and were sometimes green, sometimes blue, lilac, or other colours. The upper dress was always black.

The Japanese do not wear any stockings, except in travelling: they call them Kafan. They are generally woven of strong cotton, or made of cotton stuff, sewed together. The great toe is separated from the rest in the stocking: this is required by the form of their shoes; of which I shall say something below. In general they wear half stockings: rich people, of white cotton, others of blue; the common people generally wear no stockings, particularly in summer.

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The shoes of the Japanese consist of straw soles, or slips of wood,* they usually wear what they call Sori: these are nothing more than soles woven of rice straw; from one side of the sole to the other there is a band of the same straw, a finger thick, so that the foot is put through it; from the middle of this band to the fore end of the sole there goes a similar band, which is put between the second and great toe: in this manner the Sori keeps firm to the foot. The Japanese are so used to these shoes that they put them on with the greatest ease, as we do our slippers, and wear them without stockings; but by the use of the Sori they have room between the two first toes for two others. They wear these Sori in all Japan—men, women, and children, without exception. Opulent people buy them handsomer, and better woven; with welts of shamoy leather, and with the bands stitched round with the same leather: the common people wear ordinary straw Sori.

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* Thunberg observes, that there is nothing which travellers wear out so fast as shoes; which are made of rice straw, and plaited; but by no means strong. The value is very trifling—merely a few copper coin; and they are the articles, apparently, most exposed for sale in the different villages. Those in common use are without strings; but fitted with them for travelling. It is common for travellers to carry two or three pair with them; and the old worn out ones are constantly seen by the road sides, especially near rivulets or pools of water.—Ed.

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The Japanese travelling-shoes are called Waransi: these are Sori of straw, only stronger and simpler; they are fastened to the feet with thin straps. Stockings are always worn with these shoes. The third kind of shoes are only put on in dirty weather; they consist of thin slips of light wood; underneath, two cross pieces of wood are fastened, upon which they stand; at the top are two laces as to the Sori, by means of which they are kept fast to the foot. The opulent have these shoes japanned or painted, and the band is sewed round with leather; the poor people have them of common wood. The Japanese walk with the greatest ease and very quickly upon them; if it is slippery, they take a stick. Shoes of this kind are of the greatest use to the Japanese, as they can very quickly put them off and on; for they always leave them at the door, and go in the house only in stockings, or bare-footed; nay, even in our prison, the first officers, after the governor, pulled off their shoes at the threshold, which were generally received on this occasion by a servant, who presented them on their going out.

The Japanese wear nothing about the neck. This and a part of the breast are uncovered; when they find it cold, they wrap themselves up in their coats. Gloves are also not used; if the hands are cold, they put them in their long sleeves. They only wear hats in uncommon heat, or in rain;

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the crown of the hats is so little that only the tuft of hair can go in ; the brims are very broad, they are, therefore, tied with ribbons under the chin, or else they would be continually falling off. The common people wear straw-hats, opulent people leathern or wooden ones, which are japanned or painted, sometimes even gilded. But in general the Japanese like to go bare-headed, even in the sun ; if the sun begins to be troublesome to them, they cover their head with a fan, which they always carry about them in summer, sometimes even two. When they do not use the fans, they put them behind in their girdle, where they have also an ink-stand and a case for pencils. They wear in the bosom a kind of pocket-book, with paper, money and medicines, without which no Japanese goes out. The black colour is valued the most; the upper dresses of rich people are almost always black ; white is not worn, because it is a sign of mourning.

The Japanese eat very little in comparison with the Europeans.* Every one of us in prison

* There are many articles admired, by the Japanese, not very likely ever to become grateful to the English palates; amongst these is the *Ika*, a species of common Polypus, which is caught by baiting with some of the flesh of its fellows; also the *Jako*, with long tails fixed on the feet; at the ends of which are little hooks, to enable it to hang on the rocks. These are

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ate as much as two Japanese; when we travelled, three Japanese would certainly have had enough with what one of our sailors consumed. Their chief food is rice, fish, herbs, roots, fruits, fungi, shell-fish of every kind, pease and beans. The flesh of swine, deer, bears, and hares, is eaten by a few sects only; birds the same: these are, besides, extremely dear. I have had already frequent occasion to speak about the Japanese repasts, and will, therefore, now only mention what I have not had before an opportunity to notice. The Japanese told us, that the rich, as well as the poor, spend but little on their dinners: they are extremely temperate, seldom invite company, and very seldom have great entertainments. Their greatest luxury consists in having many servants,* every considerable person must there-

eaten raw, boiled, or potted like anchovies, and considered as a most delicious whet. Some of these Polypi are said to be so large that it requires two men to lift one of them.

The Jesuit writers assert that they far excel all their neighbours in the preparation of various beverages; and that, in their cooking, they possess the secret of giving the most delicious flavour to the most insipid viands. Such testimony from a Frenchman must be conclusive!—Ed.

* The fidelity and affection of the servants in Japan have been described as most extraordinary. They literally follow their masters to the grave: for whenever a man of any rank dies, a certain number of his domestics always commit suicide,

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fore have, besides these, a large household; as, secretaries, physicians, pages, &c. to whom he pays a salary as well as to his servants. On solemn occasions, he cannot appear without a great train suitable to his rank.

As for the common people in Japan, I believe there is scarcely a people in the world who could live upon so little as the Japanese; perhaps the Chinese alone may be compared with them. The Japanese is satisfied, for the whole day, with a handful of rice and a piece of fish, which can be put into the mouth all at once; with this he eats any herb or root, for no plant is neglected by them, or he looks for shell-fish, and prepares from them a savoury and wholesome meal. The Japanese, indeed, proved to us, that man wants but little to satisfy him; and that only superfluity and indulgence make him a glutton.

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in order to accompany him with their services in the next world. Nay, some of them, on first hiring, agree to this as part of the engagement. Such dead bargains ought certainly to be matters of grave consideration.

Early writers tell us that the Japanese love truth; are easily brought to confess themselves wrong; wish sincerely to be instructed in their moral obligations, and to be informed of their faults; nay, the people of quality have always in their establishment a confidential domestic, whose sole duty it is to acquaint them with their errors. This bears a strong analogy to the "Fool" of Gothic feudal times.—Ed.

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The rich Japanese make a great shew with their equipages.* The princes and most distinguished people have carriages which resemble our old fashioned ones, and were introduced into Ja-

* Though the Japanese so sedulously avoid all foreign intercourse, yet it is a curious fact, ascertained by former voyagers, that every possible facility has for ages been given to internal communications. They seem indeed to have advanced far beyond their Hindu neighbours, in that respect, and even to exceed, in many respects, the boasted civilization of China. Even at the commencement of the last century, their roads were described as excellent; their carriages commodious; their inns of all kinds numerous, where refreshments were to be had in abundance as well as shelter, unlike the caravanseries of Turkey and Indian choultries; whilst the attendance at each stage was of the best kind. The disposition of their roads seems to have been most systematic; the provinces were separated by broad roads serving as boundaries, whilst each smaller division was limited by a narrower road; and the greater roads were so wide, that the most numerous trains of the princes and great lords, amounting sometimes to twenty thousand in each, could pass each other, without confusion or delay, adopting the plan pursued in our roads, those proceeding to the capital taking one side, those proceeding from it taking the other. Their mile-stones, or rather distance posts, are similar to our own, consisting of little hillocks on each side of the road, with trees planted on their summits; whilst at the limits of each province or district, there are wooden or stone pillars, on which are inscribed the necessary distances, &c. The roads are also planted like avenues, with fountains at intervals; whilst the neatness and dryness of each highway are preserved by the usual modes of ditches and drains, which are also made subservient to the irrigating or the draining of the neighbouring fields. With

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pan by the Dutch. They are often drawn by horses, but for the most part by oxen. The Japanese gentlemen are careful, for fear of being trampled upon by the horses. But they are more commonly car-

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all this attention to travelling comfort and facility, it is astonishing that their ingenuity has not enabled them to overcome the difficulty of travelling in winter, when the heavy snows lie on the ground. Sledges are unknown.

Like the *corvée*, in feudal times, each village is bound to repair the roads in its own vicinity. This labour is daily; besides which, whenever any person of rank or consequence is on the road, parties of labourers are expressly sent before to see if every thing is in proper order. Sometimes the roads suffer extremely from the torrents; but the Japanese do not wait for the damage to be done, before they think of repairing it. At all spots where repairs may probably be necessary at some future period, *dépôts* of stone, of sand and gravel, are formed for instant application. Nay, so precise are the general accommodations, that retiring places of little green banks, sheltered by shrubs, are made at the regular distances of three leagues. Economy also is attended to; for every thing that it may be necessary to take away from the roads, is applied to agricultural purposes, or used as fuel; and as the peasants are permitted to collect the superfluities, the roads are thus always kept in clean order. In the mountainous parts, there are roads only passable by litters or on horseback. Bridges are numerous over the broadest rivers. Tolls are unknown; except at some spots, where a coin, value about one farthing, is presented to the persons who take care of the bridge.

It is difficult to imagine how so great an internal communication can be kept up without foreign intercourse; but the Jesuits account for it by the very extensive internal commerce in a country of such diversified productions; besides which, religious pil-

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ried in chairs, like the sedan chairs in Europe. They also ride on horseback, but consider it as vulgar to hold the bridle themselves, the horse must be led.

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grimages are very frequent and numerous, whilst the great lords constantly exact from their vassals repeated visits, they themselves, in their turn, are obliged to attend the court, attended by the most numerous suites.

The travelling regulations much resemble those of France, for the houses that supply post horses, bearers, travelling servants, &c., are totally distinct from the inns. The post-houses are generally about four miles asunder, and at each there is a post master, whose duty it is to keep registers of all travellers, to attend to the carriage of letters, government edicts, &c.; and, so anxious is the Government to guard against delay, that two persons are always sent out with each packet, so that in case of one meeting ith an accident, the other may accomplish the service. Each individual is supplied with a bell, which he rings, whenever any person approaches him; and the greatest princes are obliged to make way for him.

Their inns consist of two stories; the lowest one serving as a store-house. To each there is a handsome garden surrounded by white walls. Neatness and convenience are always studied in the arrangements; and each is supplied with baths, stoves, &c. It is a whimsical rule that the guests must leave the apartments as clean as when they entered them; so that no person ever quits an inn, until he has seen his apartment put into proper order, well swept, and washed if necessary. In short, it would be considered an act, not only of unpoliteness, but even of ingratitude, if the smallest speck of dirt was to be left behind. So precise are the Japanese in this respect, that even the Dutch, when permitted to traffic there, were deemed deficient in neatness.

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We once saw the governor of Matsmai ride on horseback to a temple, where thanksgivings were to be celebrated, where he must go once every year in spring. The high priest, the priests and

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As both men and women carry fans, whenever they go out, their artists have contrived to make them doubly useful, by painting on them the different travelling routes, with lists of the inns, and other useful information; besides which, little road books are sold by boys, who traverse every highway, for that purpose.

The mode of riding on horseback has, at first sight, an appearance of great awkwardness; yet on trial proves very commodious. The saddle is of wood, under which a cushion is placed, to prevent the horse's back from being rubbed; over all they throw a housing, on which the arms or distinguishing marks of the rider are painted, from which hangs a pretty stout piece of cloth at each side, and which are fastened under the horse's belly, to prevent him from dirtying himself; the head is covered with a net of very small meshes, to save it, especially the eyes from being bitten by flies and other vermin, which are very troublesome; bells are hung to the neck and breast, and other parts; whilst two leather straps are placed over the saddle, hanging to the right and left, to which are attached two portmanteaus, to preserve the equilibrium, and to retain them more exactly in their places, a little bandbox of stout grey pasteboard is laid across, resting upon the croup, and fastened to the saddle by straps. As this box may be easily opened, without taking it off, it is generally filled with such things as the traveller may require upon the road; whilst the space between the two portmanteaus is filled up with soft mats, on which he sets cross-legged, or sometimes with his legs hanging down. This is certainly commodious, but is directly at war with good riding: indeed the person is obliged to seat himself carefully in the centre, to prevent falling off himself, or

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officers who were obliged to be present, were gone there before. He rode alone without ceremony; a small train attended him on foot. To the horse's bit there were fastened, instead of the bridle, two

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even making his horse fall; and in ascending a mountain or hill, it becomes necessary to have an attendant to hold up the bandbox, to prevent the whole paraphernalia from slipping over the tail!

The whole scene must indeed be preposterous in an equestrian point of view, if we picture to ourselves the traveller, with a large straw hat and a large mantle of varnished paper, which covers both horse and rider, whilst the latter sits without touching the bridle, except merely for form's sake, when paying a visit, but the horse is still held by the head, and led by a servant, who sings to cheer him to his labour. When stirrups are worn, they are very heavy, generally of iron ornamented with silver plates, shaped to the foot, and open at the sides, to disengage readily in case of falling; the leathers are very short. The reins are of silk. They mount not on the side, but by climbing up at the breast.

Women always, and men very often, travel in litters or palanquins, sometimes carried by their own servants: and others by people, who make it a regular trade. On these vehicles great expence is bestowed, and much elegance displayed; but the lengths of their carrying poles are regulated by the Emperor's orders, in regard to rank, a breach of which is punishable. The ladies, however, are generally permitted so transgress with impunity. The rank of the person also regulates the number of bearers; some having only two, some so many as eight; and this vehicle being close all round, with little windows, the rank of the personage is thus known, as by coronets and helmets, on an English carriage.

A prince of the blood, or the high nobility, are carried by

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light blue girdles, which two grooms held fast on each side of the horse's mouth; the two ends of these girdles were held by two other grooms, who went a little at a distance from the others, so that these four men occupied almost the whole road.* The tail of the horse was covered with a light blue silk bag. The governor dressed in his usual clothes, in which we had often seen him, sat without his hat, upon a magnificent saddle, and held his feet in wooden japanned stirrups, which resembled little boxes.† The grooms who held the horse at the bit, continually cried: *Chai, chai*, that is softly, softly;‡ however they pushed

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hand; inferior persons have their poles rested on the shoulders of the bearers, who are regularly clothed in their master's livery.

Thunberg says that such of the poorer classes as ride, make, for the most part, a strange figure; as frequently several persons are mounted on one horse, sometimes a whole family, in which case the man is seated on the saddle, with his legs laid forward over the horse's neck; the wife occupies a basket, made fast to one side of the saddle, and one or more children are placed in a basket on the opposite side; whilst a person always walks before, to lead the animal by a bridle.—Ed.

* The Japanese told us, that on solemn occasions, many people held this girdle on each side.

† I saw in Spain and Portugal stirrups which resemble the Japanese; and also rode many times on them; they are not handsome, but very convenient, particularly for bad riders.

‡ If the Japanese wish the horse to go on quicker, they cry out: *Ksy, ksy*, which signifies as much as our Gee, gee ho.

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on the horse and made it leap and go quick; the governor therefore stooped and held fast the saddle with both hands. At a short distance before him, went some soldiers in a row with two serjeants, and though nobody was in the way, they continually cried: "Make room! make room!" Behind the governor followed the armour-bearers, who carried all the insignia of his dignity in cases, this was to signify that the governor was *incognito*.

The Japanese are always good humoured: I never saw our acquaintance melancholy. They are fond of interesting conversation, and often joke; they always sing when working, and if the work is of such a kind, that it can be performed to the measure of a tune, for example, rowing or lifting heavy burthens, they all sing.* They are lovers

* In the *Epistolæ Japanicæ*, published in 1569, St. Francis Xavier, previous to any European intercourse with the Japanese, declares that they had been described to him as a nation remarkable for good morals, of extreme curiosity and research, ingenious, and fond of novelty. With the exception of their morals, this statement seems to have been confirmed by subsequent writers, and is in perfect consonance with the recent observations, in the present work.

Charlevoix observes that social intercourse is particularly easy amongst the Japanese, owing to their manners, their turn of mind, and an unconfined and natural urbanity, which brings them very near to the most polished European nations. This is particularly manifested in their modes of visiting and of being visited; and Kœmpfer finds a great similarity between these and the Por-

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of music and dancing;* they have an instrument which resembles a recumbent harp, a kind of violin or fiddle; flutes of various kinds and a drum. The Japanese spoke of many other kinds of musical instruments, which were in use among them,

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tuguese, in this respect, they having much affability, but tempered by a serious though agreeable gravity.

It must not be forgotten that the missionaries place their moral character far beyond that of the Chinese. In China, say they, it is cunning which regulates all men's actions; but it is honour which, in Japan, is the pivot, on which all their proceedings turn. The former place all their glory in precisely following maxims, wherein prudence is always animated by interest; whilst the latter inviolably adhere to rules of honour, however false or excessive they may be, which their usages require of them. Hence spring the virtues of these, and the defects of those. The Chinese is circumspect, timid, modest, peaceable, and of the most exact and embarrassing scrupulosity, whenever he wishes to mark his respect for his master, his parents, or his sovereign; but then this reverence is seldom more than exterior, and far from being either the impulse of affection or loyalty. On the contrary, the Japanese is frank, sincere, friendly, faithful to a proverb, officious, generous, anticipative, and caring little for wealth, so as to despise commerce. Therefore, they are poor, but independant. Generally speaking, they look for nothing beyond mere necessaries; but their neatness is delightful; and their countenances bespeak perfect content, and a contempt for superfluities.—Ed.

* Captain Saris (already alluded to) describes a visit from the King at Firando, in which he was accompanied by four of his wives, attired in gowns of silk, wrapped one skirt over the other, and so girt about them, but bare legged, only a pair of half

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but they were not to be found in Matsmai, and I could not comprehend what kind of instruments they were. Notwithstanding the cheerful character of the Japanese, their songs have something melancholy and plaintive; their motions in singing always correspond with the words, the attitudes of the singer are therefore frequently very ridiculous; they make horrid grimaces, distort their eyes, turn up the whites, then often put on a cheerful face, or laugh with one side of the face, and cry with the other. During our stay in Chakodade; there was

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buskins, bound with silk ribband about their instep. Their hair was very black and long, tied up in a knot upon the crown, in a comely manner. They had good features, and were well limbed, clear-skinned and white, but wanted colour, which they supplied by art. These ladies, it appears, were at first a little bashful; but the King bid them be frank and pleasant; accordingly they sung divers songs, and played upon certain instruments, whereof one much resembled a lute, being bellied and fretted like it, but was longer in the neck, and had four gut-strings. The fingers of their left hand moved very nimbly over the strings, while they struck them with an ivory stick, held in the right hand, in the same manner as in England they play on the cithern with a quill. They seemed to take much delight in their music; kept time with their hands, and played and sung by book. The tunes were pricked, and the notes ranged in lines and spaces, much in the European way.

Charlevoix declares positively, that their music is very insipid; and that they have neither voice, method, nor instrument, that deserve the slightest notice.—Ed.

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a servant with us, who was said to be a great dancer; he had even danced on the stage as they told us, and received much praise from the public. This virtuoso was curious to see a Russian dance, he was therefore obliged to dance before us, which he willingly did, particularly as he thereby gave our guards extraordinary pleasure. Two or three of them, boys of sixteen years of age, learned dancing of him, and imitated his grimaces with success. I often laughed when I looked at them with my friend, Mr. Moor, and remarked that this was probably the first time that lessons in dancing were given in a prison.

The Japanese love dramatic * shews, and

* The poetry of the Japanese is described as possessing singular beauty. In theatrical composition they are particularly happy. Their pieces are divided into acts and scenes, and the plot, like the air and chorusses, is always developed in the prologue, with the exception of the *denouement*, which is carefully concealed. Their scenery and decorations are always good, and correct; and they have ballets, and humorous farces; but then their tragedies are always moral, their comedies sentimental. In tragedy they aim at emphasis and energy; whilst the most heroic actions, especially of the martyrs to their religion, form the ordinary subjects of it.

The state of the drama, in some parts of Japan, may be further illustrated by a fact recorded by Captain Saris, who says, in 1612: "The old king came abroad again, and brought with him some women to be merry." The women were actresses, who pass there from island to island, as the strollers do from town to

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have a theatre at Matsmai. They promised us many times to let us see a piece performed, but never kept their word; I conjecture that permission was refused by the government in the capital, to which they applied; for if it had only depended upon the governors, they would certainly have afforded us this pleasure, as they were so well disposed towards us, particularly the first of them, Arrao-Madsimam-Kami, of whose generosity I have often spoken in my narrative.

The Japanese often took us into the theatre during the day-time, to shew us the building, and interior arrangements. It is a large, and pretty high building, the back of which is for the stage, and has, as with us, a raised floor. From the stage to the front wall where the entrance is

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town in England. They were provided with several dresses, suited to the subjects represented; which, for the most part, related either to war or love. These women are all slaves to one man, who is allowed to let them out, &c.

The Japanese, if we are to believe the Jesuits, deprive themselves of many amusements which occupy the time and attention of thousands in European provincial towns. All intermeddlers, all scandal, gossip, &c. are treated there with sovereign contempt. People disposed to quarrel, or promote quarrels amongst their neighbours, they consider as devoid of courage; and others they set down as incapable of thinking.

Sixpenny whist, and paying for the cards, they esteem a sordid traffic; in fact, playing for money is considered by them as unworthy people of honour.—Ed.

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placed, two rows of seats are made for the spectators; in the middle, where we have the pit, is a vacant place, which has even no floor; but when plays are performed, straw mats are laid down for the spectators, and as this place is much lower than the stage, those in front do not hinder those behind from seeing what passes. They have no orchestra, perhaps because they have no music in the theatres as with us, or because the musicians are reckoned among the actors. Opposite the stage, where, in our theatres there is the emperor's box and the galleries, they have only a bare wall and the door for the entrance. There were no ornaments in the interior; the walls were not even painted, and no side-scenes put up. The dresses and decorations are brought from a particular house. According to our Japanese acquaintance, the subjects of their plays are chiefly memorable events in their own history, but they have also other representations which are of a comic nature, and, as well as the first, serve merely to amuse the public. The Japanese are not yet so far advanced in civilization as to make their theatre a school of virtue and morality as we call ours. But we did not venture to speak with them upon the subject, because we feared that they might recollect, as the people in India do, the conduct of the religious and virtuous Europeans towards them, and say: "How can we

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doubt that you learn virtue in the theatre? the purity of your morals proves it."

Among the amusements of the Japanese may be reckoned their pleasure-boats, or yachts,* which, as we heard, are very magnificent and expensive. The rich are fond of water parties, but only on the rivers, canals, or between the islands; they do not venture to go to a distance from the coasts, for fear of being carried away by the wind, as often happens to their merchant ships.

The Japanese are quick in learning, and possess not only drawings, but models of European vessels; but they will not introduce any thing foreign among them, and lose every year a great many ships and sailors.† The extraordinary

* Their pleasure-boats are always of a most whimsical structure, according to the taste of the owner, and often built of cedar. Though principally built for rowing, yet they generally have two decks, the first of which is low and flat, and the other filled up with windows like a city barge, and screened off into several cabins. Their ornaments and flags are numerous and grotesque.—Ed.

† Though their merchant vessels, built at Japan, are large, yet they are totally unfit for long voyages, and are used solely for their own coasting trade; but this is carried on in a very slovenly manner, every slight pretext being taken for running into harbour from wind and weather. It is a fact also that the slightest mode of building is regulated by edict; and their naval architects have been long forbid to build them of stouter mate-

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population of this kingdom causes the government not to feel this loss, and it is perhaps for this reason that it so little regards the lives of its subjects. The imperfection of their vesssels is, however, no proof of this neglect, for it is well known that their policy forbids them to improve their navigation; but there are other reasons for believing that it is not too careful about the preservation of the subjects; for instance, there are no hospitals in Japan; every one gets cured as he can, and therefore poor people often die without assistance. But still we can hardly accuse the government; would it be possible to found a sufficient number of hos-

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rials—a piece of Japanese policy to prevent foreign intercourse. Whatever the height of the vessel out of the water, their stems, in most instances, if not in all, are cut down very low, with a large opening, an imperial regulation, as they are thereby rendered unfit to live in any thing of a sea; and all foreign voyages thus rendered impracticable: a measure that took place when Japan was first shut against the admission of strangers.

Charlevoix states, that navigation is rendered dangerous amongst these islands, not only by the variable winds and tempests, and numerous rocks and shoals, which are scattered over their seas, but also by the great number of water-spouts, which are more frequent here than in any other part of the ocean. The Japanese imagine these to be water dragons, with long tails; and they call them by the name of spouting dragons. These certainly must be dangerous to small open boats; but the Editor has seen them break both near and on a decked vessel without any attendant danger.—Ed.

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pitals for such an immense population?* If we compare Japan with European states, in which there are hospitals, we find that few make use of them, in comparison with those who recover or die of a disorder, without having received the smallest assistance from the government.

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* See Golownin's Captivity, vol. 1, pp. 14, 17.

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CHAPTER VII.

Productions of the Country—Trade and Commerce.

THOUGH the Japanese possessions extend through only a few degrees of latitude, the climate of the country is uncommonly diversified.* The cause of this is the situation of the country, as I have above described it. This diversity of climate causes a great variety in the productions of the

* Even the northernmost district of Japan must be far from disagreeable, on account of climate. Captain King says, that the country round Cape Nambu is of a moderate height, appearing to consist of a double range of mountains, abounding with wood, and presenting a pleasing variety of hills and dales. The anxious voyagers descried the smoke of several towns or villages, and many houses near the shore, in pleasant and cultivated situations.

Peyrouse, whilst on another part of the coast, says, that the island of Jootsi-suma, which he was close in with, was small, flat, but well wooded, and of a very agreeable appearance. He observed several very large houses upon it, and near to a castle he descried a gallows, or pillars with a large beam laid across, which he supposed intended for that purpose.

Charlevoix asserts, that the surface of Japan is generally mountainous, stony, yet fertile in proportion to its quality; but the industry of the people has supplied all its deficiencies, and fertilized even the rocks, where scarcely any soil previously existed. All sorts of fruits, vegetables, and roots, are therefore cultivated; and as the country is well supplied with water, in

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soil. The principalities of Tzyngaru, Nambu, and the island of Matsmai, with other northern possessions, where the ground is covered with snow about five months together, produce many plants that belong to the frigid zone; and in the southern possessions of Japan, the fruits of the tropical climates are found to flourish.

As I had no opportunity to visit the principal islands belonging to Japan, I cannot speak of their productions as an eye-witness, but only repeat what I have heard from the Japanese, and describe what I could infer from their way of life, and what I saw of the articles imported into the island of Matsmai.

I have already mentioned the causes why the reader cannot expect from me any complete description of the Japanese Empire; still less can I satisfy the curiosity of a naturalist who might wish, perhaps, that I should describe every shell found in Japan. Besides the want of opportunities to examine things myself, I did not possess the re-

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rivers, lakes, and fountains, every facility is given to agricultural labours. But he adds, that some of the rivers are so rapid that they cannot be passed without great danger, it being impossible to construct any bridges over them. One of these rivers, the Aska, or Askagawa, is remarkable for the depth of its bed which changes continually, furnishing the Japanese writers and preachers with moral aphorisms, and similes, which they vary and apply with great ingenuity.—Ed.

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quisite knowledge, to observe with the eye of a naturalist. The reader will therefore, not take it amiss if I make my short remarks on the productions of Japan, not according to classes, or a systematic arrangement; for instance, according to the kingdoms of nature, but enumerate them in succession, according to the greater or smaller advantage, which the inhabitants derive from them. The chief and most useful productions of Japan are the following:

Rice, fish, radishes, salt, cotton, silk, copper, iron, timber, tea, tobacco, horses, oxen, hemp, and a tree which they call kadzy; gold and silver, lead, quicksilver, and sulphur.*

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* The Japanese are described by all the early writers as displaying the greatest industry in agricultural pursuits; leaving not an inch untilled, and having the art of preparing every soil for whatever they may choose to cultivate.

The very improved state of agriculture in the southern district of Japan is clearly proved by the fact recorded by Thunberg, that during a long Journey from Mangasakai to Meaco, and in a country to which Europeans have seldom access, he was scarcely able to collect a new plant. The reason he assigns is, that in most of the fields which were sown early in April, he could not discover the least trace of a weed, not even throughout whole provinces; for the industrious farmers pull them up so diligently that the most sharp-sighted botanist can scarcely discover any uncommon plant in their well-cultivated fields. Weeds and fences he describes as being equally uncommon. One day's journey, in particular, between Osaken and Meaco, he praises as

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I doubt whether there is a book in which so many different things are brought under one head, and treated in such order; however, this does not deter me, and I consider this order as not wholly unnatural. Rice is the chief production, and nearly the only thing the Japanese use for bread; it is to them what rye is to us; nay, it is even more important; for there are many persons in Russia who eat no rye bread; in Japan, on the contrary, every body, from the monarch to the beggar, lives on rice. Besides, in all Japan, they make of the straw, shoes, hats, floor mats in the houses, mats for sacks, and for packing-up goods; a kind of writing paper, and many other things of less consequence, but useful for domestic purposes; such as baskets, brooms, &c. The Japanese also extract from rice a kind of brandy or wine, and the weak liquor called sagi.

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being only exceeded in Holland, with regard to the beauty and delightful appearance of the country. Its population and cultivation exceeded all expression. The whole space on both sides, as far as he could see, was nothing but a fertile field; the whole jaunt extending through villages of which one begun where the other ended, all built along the sides of the roads.

The proprietors of lands receive six-tenths of the produce from the tenants. It is a fundamental law of the empire, that if any person permits a year to pass without cultivating his ground, he forfeits the property.—ED.

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Fish are in Japan what meat is in Europe,* and much more, because we eat many kinds of meat and also fish; whereas, in Japan, but few people eat meat, except the priests; and all, without exception, eat fish. Besides, they light their houses with fish-oil, which is made in great quantities in the northern parts of Japan. Only the rich burn candles.

The radish supplies the place of our cabbage, and is used in soup in various ways: salted radish serves them also instead of salt, to all their food. But this I mentioned before. Whole fields are sown with radishes; they are so used to radish soup, that a scarcity of this plant would be very distressing to them.

Salt is not only indispensable for their daily use, but serves also for the curing of fish: for their chief fisheries are on the coasts of the Kurile

* All former writers assert, that the coasts abound with great variety of fish, almost all of which the Japanese are permitted to eat. Some of them are said to be of such an exquisite flavour as to be equal to the most delicate of the European seas; besides oysters, crabs, &c.

There is a very fine species of fresh-water salmon of the most delicious flavour found on a lake near Meaco, called the lake of Oitz, forty miles in length, but very narrow, and recorded to have been formed in one night by an earthquake. These salmon seldom exceed ten pounds in weight.—ED.

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islands and Sagaleen, whence many hundred ships annually bring them to ports of the kingdom of Japan. Two means are used to preserve fish, salting and drying; but the large fish cannot be so dried as to remain long fit to eat in the warm climate.

Silk and cotton, besides the uses to which they are generally applied, supply also the place of our wool, hemp, flax, down, feathers, and furs; for whatever is worn in Japan is made of these two articles. They, likewise, make of cotton stuff travelling cloaks, cases for arms, and other things, and tobacco-pouches, which are varnished in such a manner that they may be taken for leather.

Copper and iron are as necessary in Japan as in Europe.* Besides the ordinary uses to which we apply it, the Japanese cover the roofs of their houses, which they desire particularly to preserve with copper; and also cover the outward joints of the buildings with the same metal, that the rain-

* Brass is much dearer than copper, and is very rare, though much valued, from the scarcity of calamine to work it. As calamine is produced in Britain in sufficient quantity for export, it may yet become deserving the attention of our exporting merchants. Iron also is very scarce; so that tools made of it are very expensive: a consideration which prompts to an endeavour at the extension of our own trade in that quarter. In short, one or two vessels, well fitted for defence, as for commerce, might find a trading speculation to those coasts extremely advantageous, if conducted with prudence and economy.—Ed.

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water may not penetrate. Tobacco pipes are also made of it. A very large quantity of iron is used for nails; for the Japanese houses consist of boards nailed, within and without, with iron nails, to upright pillars which are joined by cross beams: every little box too, however inconsiderable, is fastened together with nails.

In so populous a country as Japan, when the frequent and violent earthquakes render it dangerous to erect buildings of stone, timber may be reckoned among the chief necessaries of the people.

Tea and tobacco, it should seem, might be easily dispensed with; but custom and fashion often operate as strongly as nature: next to food, tea and tobacco are, above every thing, necessary to the Japanese. He smokes his pipe continually, and sips tea with it. His little pipe is filled every five minutes, and after a few puffs laid down. Even during the night, the Japanese get up for a few minutes to smoke tobacco and drink a cup of tea, which serves to quench their thirst instead of beer, water, and *kwass*.

The Japanese do not use the flesh of horned cattle for food, because they have an aversion to it; but they keep some, as well as horses, to draw burdens.*

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* Charlevoix asserts, from various authorities, that sheep were unknown in Japan, until brought there by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century.—Ed.

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They manufacture of hemp the coarse cloth for workmen's dresses, and for the sails of their ships; but they make their cables and ropes of the bark of the tree called *Kadzy*, without using tar or any other resinous matter. Hence their ropes are not comparable, either for strength or durability with those made of hemp; but they are good enough for their limited voyages in which they are not exposed to any great storm. Besides the cheapness of the materials allows them to have new ropes more frequently. Of this bark they often make also thread, lamp-wicks, a kind of cheap cloth, writing-paper, and paper for Japanese pocket-handkerchiefs.

Gold and silver, so far as they serve for magnificence and luxury, cannot indeed be reckoned among the necessaries of life; but if we consider the advantage and the means which they afford as money, for the procuring of necessaries and the exchange of home productions, they must certainly be reckoned among the chief necessaries of an enlightened nation, and on this account I mention them here.

Lead, tin and quick-silver may also be reckoned as chief necessaries, because they are required in the refining of gold and silver, and also in the manufacture of arms, which are used by every nation that values its independance. For the latter reason, brimstone comes under the same head.

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Rice grows in such great abundance in the middle part of the island of Niphon, that the Japanese, notwithstanding the extraordinary population of the country, do not want to import it. It is true they receive rice from China, but only out of precaution, lest in case of scarcity, the Chinese Government should make a difficulty to permit the exportation of it, if they would exclude it from the number of goods which form the usual articles of trade between the two kingdoms.* The northern provinces of Japan, viz: the principalities of Nambu and Tzyngaru, are poor in rice, and receive it, for the most part, from other countries; it is not cultivated in Matsmai, Sachalin and the Kurile

* To prepare the soil for rice, it is permitted to lie under water until the beginning of April, when the farmers begin to turn it over with a crooked hoe; though in some instances, when the land lies low, and the waters cannot immediately be turned off, it is ploughed by oxen or cows, which are kept solely for that purpose. The rice itself is then sown in small beds about the breadth of a foot, separated by furrows of the same width; and the same process is used for wheat or barley, which are dribbled in rows, and as soon as the corn is about a foot high, the custom is to take earth out of the furrow, thus turned into a drain, the earth itself being laid up to the rows; the whole process presenting the appearance of a kitchen garden instead of a corn field. Rice is always transplanted, when a few inches high. This is performed by the women, up to the mid-leg in water and mud.

The buck-wheat is far from uncommon in several parts of Japan, both cultivated and wild. Cakes are made of its flour, and boiled, but only eaten by the lower classes.—Ed.

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Islands, because it will not grow, on account of the cold climate. We saw, indeed, pieces of land sown with rice in Matsmai, in a valley near Chakodade, but our guards told us that it was only done for a trial.

The Japanese boil out of rice a kind of thick gruel, and eat it at all their meals, instead of bread; from the flour of rice they prepare cakes and divers kinds of pastry, which resembles our confectionary. But rice is not the only bread-corn of the Japanese, they have also barley with which they sometimes feed the horses, and make cakes and other things from the flour; maize which they use in food in various ways, and sometimes roast whole ears, and eat the grain; many kinds of beans, which are a favorite dish of the Japanese; they sometimes eat them merely boiled in water, sometimes in treacle or soy; small beans are often boiled with thick rice, and pass for a great delicacy. The Japanese soy is also prepared of beans, and turned sour in casks. They say that three years are required for preparing the best soy. Sweet and common potatoes are also cultivated in Japan, but they want land to plant them. The Japanese sweet potatoes are quite different from those I saw in other parts of the world, as in Portugal, in the island of Madeira, in the Brazils, &c. &c.* They

* Thunberg says that in the environs of Nangascki he saw in the vicinity of every village, amongst the hills, large ranges of

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resemble, in size, our largest potatoes, only that they are a little longer, the skin dark red; the inside is white, the taste agreeable, and smells like the rose. They have also peas, but it is only a garden plant with them. In so confined and populous a state as Japan, and such a climate, no corn, except rice, can be in general use, because only rice can grow in so narrow a space, in such abundance, as to be sufficient for so great a nation.

I cannot exactly state what kinds of fish are caught in the southern and middle parts of the coasts of Japan, and in the rivers of that kingdom;*

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sloping grounds covered with the *Batatas*, or *Convoloulus edulis*, which are mealy and much more agreeable to the taste than the common potatoe, or *Solanum tuberosum*, as cultivated in Japan. The latter, he says, succeeds very indifferently.—ED.

* All the Japanese who visited us, including the men of learning, unanimously affirmed, that in a river, in Japan, there are amphibious animals, which have a body like a fish, two arsheens and above, in length, and covered with scales; and whose head is covered with hair, and resembles that of a man. These wonderful animals come sometimes on shore, and fight or play together, with great cries. If they see any body upon the water, or on the shore, they fall upon him and kill him, but without devouring him. According to the saying of some Japanese, they have a peculiar way of killing people: they tear the entrails out of the stomach. This account looks indeed like a fable; but it is probable, that some unusual animal, which is not merely a creature of the imagination, may have given rise to this invention.

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but on the coasts of Matsmai, Kunaschier, Eetoo-roop and Sagaleen, almost all kinds of fish are caught in great quantities, which they have in Kamtschatka, and of which I shall speak in the description of the Japanese possessions in the Kurile Islands.* There is no kind of sea animal, except those which are poisonous, that the Japanese do not make use of; whales, sea-lions, all kinds of seals, sea-hogs, sea-bears, furnish them with palatable food. Hence, there is in all the Japanese possessions no coast, where there are not fisheries, which employ a number of people. They catch fish on the coast in great nets, in the seas with lines.† The Japanese do not, like the Euro-

* The northern coast appears, at a short distance from shore, to be badly supplied with fish; for when Cook's companions were off that part, they tried repeatedly in ten fathoms water, but without success; although a little further north, off the Kuriles, they had taken very fine cod, in considerable quantities.—ED.

† There is a large flat fish with a long tail, at the end of which is a piece of bone or horn, considered by the Japanese, as an infallible cure for the bite of a serpent.

The gold-fish, of the most beautiful kinds, are found on many parts of the coast; also silver fish, which are caught and preserved in ponds, and fed with worms and flies.

Eels are frequently found in the rice grounds; and the Japanese believe that they can be made by cutting straw, mixing it with mud, and exposing it to the warmth of the morning sun.

There is another curious fish—curious, at least, from the descriptions of the Jesuit missionaries, who call it *Todo noevo*—

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peans, venture to kill whales in the open sea, but catch them in creeks, and close to the coast, in very strong nets. The dead sea animals which the waves have cast on shore serve them for food; nay, even people of the highest class think such carrion a great delicacy.*

The Japanese radish is, in the form and taste, very different from ours; it is thin, and extremely long, even to two arsheens in length. The taste of it is not very bitter, but sweetish, almost like our turnips. Whole fields are covered with it. A great part of the crop is salted, the other part is buried in the ground for winter and boiled in soup. Not even the radish leaves remain unused, they are boiled in soup or salted, and eaten as sallad. The fresh leaves also of this plant are warmed by the fire till they smoke, and then put in a packet of tobacco. This, say the Japanese, hinders the to-

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"a small fish covered with hair, with four feet, like to hog's feet; from whence we may suppose it to be a species of seal." This is the fish whose oil is said to prevent ebriety.—ED.

* About the year 1680, a rich fisherman of the province of Omura, invented a new method of catching whales, by means of a net made of two-inch rope. When entangled in this, the whale lost much of his velocity, and became an easy prey to the harpoons of his assailants; but the mode was found too expensive for general use.

Ambergris is found in the intestines of one species called Mako.—ED.

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bacco from drying up, and gives it an agreeable smell and taste. I really did convince myself of the former, but did not perceive the latter, perhaps because I am no great smoaker. They manure the radish fields with night soil: this we ourselves saw at Matsmai. In some places they use the same manure for rice.

Salt, as I have before observed, is a grand article of consumption in Japan.* The Japanese told us, that they had rock salt, but only in small quantities; and as it is, besides, brought from the interior of the kingdom, and not easy of conveyance, very little of it is used. In general, they use sea salt in almost all parts of the kingdom; the preparation of which is facilitated by the extraordinary saltness of the sea-water near the tropics, and by the evaporation produced by the heat. The Japanese have, therefore, large pits on the coast, into which they let the sea-water when the tide is up; the evaporation leaves a thick sediment, from which they boil their salt.

According to the description of the Japanese, their cotton must be of the same kind as I have seen in the English colonies in the West Indies;

* In some provinces, salt is made, in the first instance, not by evaporating, but by pouring sea-water upon sand, until saturated; after which the sand is washed, and the lye boiled in pots until it chrystallizes: as Kœmpfer describes.—Ed.

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that is, it grows on small trees, about the height of a man. They have, however, other kinds of cotton, but I was not able sufficiently to understand their descriptions. The country must produce an immense quantity, as almost all the inhabitants are cloathed in it. The wadding which they make of it serves them instead of furs. They also line their mattresses, and their morning gowns, which latter serve them as quilts. Of cotton they likewise make a kind of writing-paper.* It is made also into wicks, of which an immense quantity must be used, as the Japanese always keep a light during the night. Rich people burn candles, as I have said above; and the poor, fish-oil. When foreign vessels enter their ports, or an officer of distinction arrives, the Japanese hang the whole town with cotton stuff. In a word, there is perhaps no other country in which so great a quantity of cotton is used as in Japan; for this reason, great care is taken to extend the cultivation of it. As an in-

* The kadsi, or paper-tree, also supplies them with materials for that manufacture. It grows very rapidly; and its bark is in many folds, of which not only paper, but cloth and rope are made. In the winter, the year's shoots are cut off and boiled, and the bark is then taken off and submitted to a process of considerable length and ingenuity. The different folds of the bark are of different fineness; and being boiled repeatedly until macerated, the paper is formed pretty much in the European manner. The white colour is given by an infusion of rice.—Ed.

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stance of the industry and activity of this original people, it may be mentioned that they import from the Kurile islands, into the interior of Japan, herrings spoiled by keeping, to serve as manure for the cotton plants. They first boil the herrings in large iron kettles;* then put them in presses, and let all the liquid flow into the same kettles, from which they take the oil for their lamps. What remains of the herrings is spread upon mats, and laid in the sun to dry, till they corrupt, and are almost converted into ashes. They are then filled into sacks and put on board the boats. The earth round each cotton plant is manured with them, which causes the crop to be extremely abundant.

Japan is also very rich in silk. We had the proofs before our eyes. Matsmai is reckoned to be one of the very poorest towns; yet we constantly saw people of all ranks, especially women, in silk dresses. On festivals, even the common soldiers wore costly silk dresses. If we consider the great population of the Japanese empire, the quantity of silk must be very great, even if only rich people dressed themselves in it. It was not, indeed, difficult for the Japanese to cultivate this production to a great extent, as it requires only a good climate and industry; the former is favour-

* I myself saw this process in the island of Kunashier.

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able, and the latter is possessed by the Japanese in a very high degree.

Copper is also produced in Japan in great abundance.* The inhabitants cover with it the roofs of some of their houses, the fore part of their ships, and the joists in the houses. They manufacture of this metal their kitchen utensils, tobacco-pipes, fire-shovels, &c. Before we were lodged in the house, and still lived in the prison, our furniture corresponded with the place of our abode, but the hearth was covered with copper, and the fire-shovel was of the same metal: this shows that the Japanese do not set any great value upon it. The tea-kettles alone must cause an immense consumption of copper in this empire; for all the Japanese, as I have said above, drink, when they are thirsty, something warm, whether it be tea or water. In every house, therefore, the tea-kettle stands constantly on the fire, which must finally spoil it. The Japanese copper

* The copper, which always formed a considerable part of the Dutch trade, is expressly stated, by Thunberg, to contain more gold, and to be finer than any other in the world. It is cast into bars six inches long, and of the thickness of the human finger, flat on one side, and convex on the other, and of a fine bright colour. Much of the copper sent from England to India, of late years, has been cast in similar ingots, for the purpose of coinage principally, and is commonly distinguished by the appellation of "Japan copper."—Ed.

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utensils are, however, of very good workmanship; we often wondered at the durability of the tea-kettles which we made use of; for they stood over the fire for months together without burning through. It is well known, that the Dutch, in their trade with Japan, derived their greatest advantage from the exportation of the Japanese copper, because it always contains a large portion of gold, which the Japanese wanted skill, or inclination, to extract from it. But they are now become wiser, and give the Dutch only pure copper.

With respect to iron, the Japanese do not possess that metal in such abundance as copper, but they have sufficient to supply their absolute wants; and if the government exchanged with the Dutch, copper for iron, this was not out of necessity, but because iron is for many purposes preferable to copper. As the Japanese have a surplus of the latter, both they and the Dutch profited by this exchange. They often told us, that the trade with the Dutch did not produce them the least advantage; only some medicines and political news, which the Dutch bring them from Europe, being of importance to them. If the Japanese had not iron sufficient for their absolute wants, they would certainly set more value on the trade with the Dutch.

Timber.—The greater part of the Japanese provinces are without wood. The extraordinary

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population of the kingdom renders it necessary to cultivate every spot of ground; and therefore only the mountains, which cannot be cultivated, are covered with woods. The principality of Nambu, which lies on the north-east part of the island of Niphon, being very mountainous, is rich in timber, with which it supplies all Japan in exchange for provisions, of which it does not produce sufficient for the support of its inhabitants. On the mountains of the islands of Matsmai, Kunashier, Eetooroop, and Sagaleen, there are forests of all kinds of trees, which the Japanese also make use of: we saw there numbers of very fine beams, ready to be exported. Notwithstanding this, the Japanese draw but little timber from these islands, because it is so difficult to convey it from the interior to the coasts, and they have not yet felt the necessity of surmounting these obstacles. If this should happen, the Japanese will soon open a road to mountains, which other nations would consider as inaccessible; I doubt whether any thing would be impossible for the zeal, activity and patience of this people.

The Japanese wished to know the Russian name for some species of wood; and brought to us pieces and branches of wood, asking how they were all called in Russian. We made use of this opportunity, and asked where these trees grew;

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by this means we learned that several kinds of oaks,* palms, of which the Japanese make very good combs, bamboo, cypresses, cedars, yews, firs, and other kinds of trees the names of which are unknown to us, grow in their islands.

I have before mentioned, that habit has rendered tea one of the first necessaries of life among the Japanese. Japan produces both green and black tea.† The first is considered as the best;

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* Kœmpfer says that the acorns are boiled and eaten by the lower classes. He speaks also of a tree called the *Naatsme*, or Paliurus, which has a very fine fruit.

The Japanese vessels are said to be very lasting; not from any particular attention to their trees with respect to barking, but from the system of hauling their vessels on shore, after they have been in the water, and burning both sides as high as the water line, until covered with a coat of charcoal, in order to preserve them from the worm. It is extremely probable, and deserving of investigation, that this protects them also from the dry rot so destructive to the British navy.—Ed.

† The Japanese tea tree is described, by Kœmpfer, as having leaves like the cherry, with a flower like a wild rose. It grows, in the most sterile places, to the height of about six feet. It is an evergreen. When fresh, the leaves have no smell, but a very astringent taste. Throughout Japan, the tea-kettle stands on the fire from morning till night.

So much importance do the Japanese attach to the genteel service of tea, that masters are actually employed to teach the young people all the forms and ceremonies, like dancing masters in Europe.—Ed.

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and, in fact, is so. The Japanese even prefer it to the Chinese green tea; but, according to our taste, it does not merit this preference. With respect to the black tea, it is very bad, and the Japanese drink it merely to quench their thirst; whereas, they look upon the green tea as a delicacy, and treat their company with it. The Japanese officers, and also the governor, often sent us green tea as a present; but then the interpreters and the guards assisted, with a good appetite, in emptying the tea-kettle. Tea grows in all the southern provinces of Japan; the best green is produced in the principality of Kioto, in which Kio, the city or residence of the spiritual emperor, is situated.* In this province, tea is cultivated with great care, both for his court and that of the temporal emperor.

Tobacco is an article which is equally indispensable to the Japanese. The catholic missionaries were the first who introduced this plant, and taught them its use. From them too the Japanese received its name, and still call it tabaco, or tabago. It is astonishing how the use of this

* Some Europeans call the residence of the Spiritual Emperor Miako; but the word Miago (not Miako) means metropolis, and is given, by the Japanese, to this city as a distinction. Its proper name, however, is Kio, and Kioto the name of the province.

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worthless herb should have spread, in so short a time, over the whole earth, as it is entirely without taste, without any agreeable smell, without use to the health, and a mere amusement for idle people! Our interpreter, Teske, one of the most sensible of our Japanese acquaintance, was himself a great smoaker; but often said, that the christian priests had not done the Japanese so much injury by the introduction of their faith, which only produced among them internal commotions and civil wars, as by the introduction of tobacco; for the former was only a transitory, long forgotten evil, but the latter diverted, and probably would do for centuries to come, large tracts of land and a number of hands from the production of useful and necessary articles, which are now dear, but might otherwise be cheaper. Besides, the workmen could not then so often interrupt their labour, but now they were continually resting themselves in order to smoke their pipes.

I do not know how many species of this plant there are in nature, nor how many of them the Japanese have; but I saw various kinds of prepared tobacco among them: from the most pleasant to the most disgusting. They cut both the good and the bad tobacco very small as the Chinese do: in the manufacture of the better sort, they use Sagi to moisten it, and sell it in papers which weigh about a Russian pound. The Japanese consider

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the tobacco from Sasma as the best, then, that from Nangasaky, Sinday, &c. The worst comes from the province of Tzyngaru; it is strong, of a black colour, and has a digusting taste and smell. The tobacco from Sasma is, indeed, also strong, but it has an agreeable taste and smell, and is of a bright yellow colour.* The tobacco from Nangasaky is very weak, in taste and smell perhaps the best, and of a bright brown colour. The tobacco from Sinday is very good, and was always given us to smoke. The Japanese manufacture tobacco so well, that though I was before no friend to smoking, and even when I was at Jamaica, could but seldom persuade myself to smoke a Havannah Segar, yet I smoked the Japanese tobacco very frequently, and with great pleasure. Snuff is not used in Japan. But enough of this plant! I could indeed, for the pleasure of gentlemen, who love smoking, write some sheets more, on the article tobacco; for there was nothing concerning which we had such frequent opportunities to converse with the Japanese.† The literati, the interpreters, and

* Thunberg says, that in those parts of Japan he visited, it grew very sparingly, and he observed no large plantations of it. He calls it almost the only relique, left behind in Japan by the Portuguese who first introduced it.—Ed.

† They use, medicinally, a very fine sort of Snuff, like Spa-

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guards, all smoked; and used, too, different kinds of tobacco, according to their respective taste or ability. Out of politeness, they frequently offered us their tobacco, and mentioned its name. In this manner, a conversation usually began upon tobacco, which often lasted for hours together. We often had no opportunity to speak of other more important things, and besides, the Japanese, did not all like to converse upon them.

The Japanese horses are small and weak.* They resemble, in size, our farmers horses, but are much thinner, better shaped, and also more spirited, as the Japanese do not castrate them, but always ride on stallions. The climate permits the horses as well as the horned cattle, always to eat grass; it is only on journeys, or after some hard labour, that a little barley is given them. But in Matsmai

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nish, which is brought from China. It is considered most efficacious for colds in the head, which are very frequent on account of the repeated changes of weather.—Ed.

* Horses are never iron-shod; but, instead of it, their feet are often wrapped up in shoes made of twisted ropes, till worn out, and frequently renewed, particularly in slippery roads. The attendants in travelling always carry a supply; and the poor children traverse the roads offering them for sale.

The Jesuit writers assert, that although the Japanese horses are generally small, yet many are found amongst them which do not yield to the finest in Persia, in beauty, in swiftness, or in docility—Ed.

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and Sagaleen, where a great deal of snow falls in the winter, the inhabitants are obliged to lay up a provision of hay. Among all the Japanese horses that we saw, we did not observe a single white one, but mostly dark brown. We, therefore, asked the Japanese, if there were no white horses in their principal island, and were answered, that they were very rarely met with. They have also large horses in Japan, but the number of them is very small. The Japanese never shoe their horses, for they have no occasion to drive over ice, and have no pavement. If they travel during the rainy season in mountainous places, where it is slippery, they use low pieces of wood of the size and shape of an ox's or horse's hoof. These pieces of wood are laid on the very thick skin of sea-lions, or other marine animal, and then iron nails are driven through the skin, with large sharp heads, which serve instead of shoes, when the skin is bound under the horses feet.

The horned cattle* are small and poor; for the

* The unwillingness of all sects of the Japanese to eat horned cattle, seems to proceed from the ceremonies of the oldest religion; for with the followers of Camis, whoever should eat the flesh of any four-footed animal, except fallow deer, became impure for thirty days; whilst, after eating birds, the impurity or uncleanness, only continued for an hour: pheasants, cranes, and sea-fowl, can be eat at all times without impurity. Even killing any

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Japanese do not give themselves much trouble about feeding them, as they use neither meat nor milk.

Hemp grows in the northern provinces of Japan; we saw some in Matsmai: I have already mentioned for what purposes the Japanese employ it.*

The tree called *Kadzy*, grows in great abun-

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animal, or assisting at an execution, or being near a dying person, or entering into a house where there is a corpse, produces an uncleanness for that day.

So great has been the scarcity of horned cattle, that the Dutch ships, formerly, always brought with them from Batavia, oxen, calves, hogs, goats, sheep and even deer, for their own use, whilst residing at the factory. They were always landed upon a small island where they were kept in stalls, and fed with grass and leaves brought by Japanese convicts; or else, (as in winter), with rice and branches of trees. Thunberg says expressly, that the Japanese, in 1775, had neither sheep nor hogs, and very few cows or oxen; the latter being extremely small, and only used, (and that but seldom) for the purpose of agriculture: but their flesh, or the milk of the cows, was never used in any shape.

Bulls and buffaloes are common, according to the missionaries; the latter of an enormous size, with a large hump on the back.—Ed.

* They often find a substitute for hemp, even in the thickest kinds of cordage for maritime uses, in the nettles which grow to a considerable size, running wild on the hills. It is the bark of the stem that is used, which produces most excellent cordage, though its threads are often so fine as to be wove into linen.—Ed.

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dance, and is of the most important use to the inhabitants. The Japanese explained to us what kind of a tree it is; but I never understood them sufficiently to describe it.*

The Japanese possess in several parts of the empire considerable gold and silver mines. The government however, does not permit them all to be worked, that the value of these Metals may not be depreciated.† The Japanese use gold and silver for various purposes besides coin: their temples are ornamented with these metals; people of distinction wear sabres, with gold or silver hilts and scabbards; rich people have gold and silver pipes; many lackered articles, such as table utensils, boxes, screens, &c. are ornamented with gold and silver; there is a kind of gold and silver stuffs; nay we were told, that in the principal cities, there are numerous public buildings with gilded roofs. In the houses of the princes and great people, there are many ornaments of these metals, and

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* *Described in Page* 162.

† It is asserted by *Charlevoix*, that when the Jesuit missionaries first went to Matsmai, they found a river flowing past the walls of the city, in whose sands there was a great portion of gold dust, the searching for which was a great source of wealth to numberless adventurers, who hired certain portions of the river, each draining his portion by means of a dyke and canal, permitting the river to resume its natural course when the search was over.—Ed.

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the ladies frequently wear gold and silver trinkets.

Japan has sufficient lead, tin, quicksilver and sulphur for the supply of its wants.* They cast not only musket bullets, but even cannon balls of tin, because they have had no wars for these two hundred years; if it was with them as in Europe, this *luxury* would soon cease. As for sulphur, they have an island, which is entirely covered with it, and which, on account of the hot

* A trade in sulphur might also be very advantageous, as there are several natural *souffrieres*, the produce of which is very great, especially in the island Ivogesima, or Sulphur-island, besides other places; so that the Jesuit writers consider sulphur as one of the greatest sources of wealth in Japan. Gold is also found in many parts of the empire; dug up in ore, or smelted; or found in sand, sometimes in copper. Much gold dust is met with in Sado, one of the northern provinces. In the gulf of Okus, a mountain had for many years leaned on one side, and suddenly fell into the sea. On digging into its base, much pure gold was found, which led them also to examine what had fallen, and by means of divers, a considerable quantity of gold was brought up, until an earthquake covered the mine with mire and clay, to a depth of many feet, rendering further research impracticable.

Silver is also produced, so rich, that the Chinese have been in the habit of exchanging gold for it, weight for weight. Besides these, there is a factitious metal, of copper mixed with a small portion of gold, resembling gold itself in colour and beauty, when well managed. The Japanese have long been in the secret of working it with superior elegance to other nations.—Ed.

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springs, is covered with a constant vapour. This island is one of the seven wonders of the Japanese empire, all of which they named to us.*

Having thus spoken of those productions of Japan, which supply the chief wants of this enlightened people, I proceed to those which administer rather to fashion or luxury, or are at least less necessary; they are the following:

Diamonds and pearls, marble and other kinds of stone,† the camphor tree, the varnish tree, fruit trees, garden plants, various wild plants, domestic and wild animals, which are used by the Japanese.

Japan produces precious stones, but of what

* In the first part of my work, I mentioned, that I always wrote down my remarks on small slips of paper, which I carefully preserved, for fear the Japanese should take away our papers. Unfortunately, I have lost several of those slips, and among them, that on which I had written down the seven wonders. I remember only three:— 1st. The abovementioned island; 2nd. There is, somewhere, a mountain, on which flames are seen during the night, without any body's being able to assign the cause; 3rd. A deep well, formed by nature, in which, when a small pebble is thrown down it, a dreadful noise is heard.

† Some very fine agates are found nearly equal to sapphires; also cornelians and jaspers. Pearls are found in great plenty; but, not being considered as ornamental by the Japanese ladies, have long been reserved for the Chinese market.—Ed.

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kinds we were not able to learn. The officers who had seen the snuff-box, and other things, which the Japanese Kodai had received from the late Empress Catherine II, and had brought with him to Japan, said, that there were such stones in Japan, as those things were ornamented with, but that the Japanese artists did not understand how to give them so beautiful a polish.

Japan is rich in pearls, but we did not see any remarkably large.

There are various kinds of marble in Japan. They shewed us various articles made of white marble with small blue veins, and of another kind of marble, like that with which Isaac's church, at St. Petersburg, is built. They also shewed us seals, made of cornelian, agate, jasper, and other stones, with which I am unacquainted. On the coasts of the principalities of Nambu and Tzyngaru, there are found stones of different colours, and of the size of a nut, which are so washed by the waves, that they seem almost transparent, like crystal. The Japanese gave me twelve red and twelve white stones of this kind, to use at drafts, but the sailor, whom I ordered to take them with him, lost them.

Many Japanese carry perfumes about them, among which is camphor. They told us, that in the southern part of Japan, the tree which produces it grows in such abundance, that notwith-

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standing the great consumption of it in the country, large quantities are exported by the Dutch and Chinese. There is also an imitation of camphor, in Japan, but every body can distinguish it from the genuine.*

The Japanese varnish is celebrated even in Europe. The tree, which produces this juice, grows in such abundance, that the Japanese lacker all their table utensils, boxes, saddles, bows, arrows, spears, sheaths, cartouch-boxes, tobacco-boxes; in their houses, the walls and screens, and in short every trifle, that they wish to ornament.† We had the pleasure to see a masterpiece in varnishing. It was a bottle-case belonging to the governor, who sent it for us to look at. The polish on it was so beautiful, that we could see our

* The kus, or camphor-tree, is of the laurel kind, with black and purple veins. Kœmpfer says, that the Japanese camphor is made by a simple decoction of the wood and roots, but bears no proportion in value to that of Borneo.—Ed.

† The real Japan varnish is made from a tree called Silz, yielding a whitish juice, whose application to articles of domestic use, even at court, is considered more valuable than silver or gold. Its preparation is very simple, being merely drawn from the tree, strained through paper, and then tinted with various colouring substances, as may be required.

Their varnish has always been considered much superior to that of China, or Tonquin, and the Japanese apply it in a manner peculiar to themselves.—Ed.

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faces in it as in a mirror. The natural colour of this juice is white, but it assumes any colour by being mixed with it. The best varnish in Japan is usually black, or red, and almost every thing is so varnished; but we saw also, green, yellow, blue and other varnish. In varnishing, they also imitate marble. The juice, when fresh, is poisonous, and very injurious to those who collect it, for which reason they employ various precautions; but after it has stood for some time in the open air, it loses its poisonous quality. The varnished utensils may be used without danger. The Japanese are so clever in varnishing, that you may pour hot water into a vessel, and drink it, without perceiving the slightest smell of the paint. This however, is true only with respect to vessels of the best workmanship; in others, you smell the paint, even if warm water is poured into them.

The Japanese have no want of fruit trees.* They have oranges, lemons, peaches, apricots,

* They have a curious mode of preserving their fruit by cutting it, if large, into slices, and drying it, or working it up with yeast, from the sakki, or rice beer. The acid of the yeast penetrates into the fruit, and not only preserves it, but gives a peculiar flavour, of which the Japanese are very fond. Cucumbers are also preserved in the same manner, and sent to market in firkins.—Ed.

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plumbs, figs, cherries, pears, apples,* chesnuts, &c. It is strange, that with a climate like that of Japan, no grapes should flourish there. The Japanese have only small wild grapes, which are very sour, and are salted and eaten as salad.† The reason perhaps is, that they grow in the woods, under the shade of the trees, and that the Japanese do not understand the culture of the vine.

Next to rice and fish, vegetables are the favourite food of the Japanese. They have melons, water-melons, gourds, cucumbers, turnips, carrots, mustard, &c. We could not learn whether they had any cabbages.‡ We frequently explained to

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* I have read, in an European work upon Japan, that there are no apples there. But we, ourselves, eat apples which came from the principality of Tzyngaru. They were indeed small and ill tasted

† Yet the early missionaries, particularly Father de Angelis, assert, that wine was very common in Jesso, and the vicinity of Matsmai, in 1620; adding, that every body drank it in great quantities, without being intoxicated, in consequence of their seasoning their food with the oil of a fish called *Todonoevo*. Perhaps the holy father was a relative of the renowned Mendez Pinto, who had preceded him.—Ed.

‡ Round Nangasaky many species of European vegetables are now cultivated. They have the red beet, carrots, fennel, dill, anise, parsly, asparagus, leeks, onions, turnips, black radishes, lettuces, succory, endive, &c. But it is curious, that even there, Thunberg does not enumerate cabbages.

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them what kind of a plant it was, and even made them a drawing of one, but they always said, that they had nothing like it growing in Japan. Except melons and water-melons, the Japanese eat no vegetables raw, and were much surprised, when they saw us eat raw cucumbers, with salt and vinegar. They mix their mustard with vinegar and eat it with fish.

They have also large quantities of red, or cayenne pepper, and poppies. They eat the pepper raw, with various dishes, or boil it in sugar, and use it as a preserve. They mix the poppy with sugar or treacle, and eat it with a paste made of pounded rice. They use poppy-oil to fry fish in, and in the dressing of various dishes.

Among the vegetable productions used by the Japanese for food, are sugar-cane, black and red currants, bird cherry, (Prunus Padus Linn,) various herbs, fungi, sea-cabbage, and the berries of wild-roses, or hips, which grow in abundance in the northern provinces of Japan. The Japanese use the latter as a medicine against wind, and eat them raw.

The want of cabbages appears to be supplied, at least in the southern districts, by the *Brassica Orientalis*, or East Indian kali, planted early in the spring, and enlivening the landscape with its yellow flowers. Much of this is allowed to run to seed, and expressed for the purpose of burning in their lamps.—Ed.

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The sugar-cane is rare in Japan, and the sugar which it yields is black, and not very sweet; the want of land, which serves for the cultivation of more necessary plants, probably hinders the Japanese from cultivating this cane, which is merely an article of luxury.*

The Japanese salt the currants and bird cherries, and eat them instead of salad; of the herbs poor people make soup, and also eat them salted: pickled mushrooms are considered as a great delicacy; they are boiled in soups, salted, or laid in vinegar.

With respect to the sea-cabbage,† this plant, which is disregarded almost every where else, not only gives food to millions of people in Japan, but it is also an article of commerce.‡ The Japanese dry it, and then use it in soup; or wrapping it

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* Sugar, in a soft state, generally forms part of the imports by the Dutch ships.—Ed.

† In Ireland the sea-cabbage is used for manuring the land, and is therefore, highly esteemed. During my stay there, the owner of an estate quarrelled with his neighbour, because the latter had collected sea cabbage on his coast, and threatened to shoot him, as a robber, if he caught him at it again.

‡ Johnson, in his Hebridian tour, alludes to the increased value of rocky reefs and islets, from the manufacture of the kelp from this, and all other kinds of sea wrack.—Ed.

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round fish, boil and eat both together. Often they broil it over the fire, strew salt on it and eat it without any farther dressing. This cabbage serves chiefly poor people for their support; but the rich frequently eat them dressed in a different manner, and even the Emperor's kitchen is furnished with it.*

The domestic animals of the Japanese, besides horses and oxen which I have mentioned before, are swine, dogs and cats. The first are used as food by those sects that are permitted to eat meat. The dogs are employed in the chase and to guard the houses, and the cats perform the same services as in Europe, though a writer upon Japan says,

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* This seems to be the same species of fucus, or sea-weed, which, when dried for eating, in Scotland and the north of Ireland, is called *dhulish;* but when boiled, is known by the name of *sloak*, with which Thunberg's description agrees exactly; for he says, that when dried and cleansed from sand, salt, and other impurities, it is used by the Japanese on several occasions. Tough as it may appear to be, yet it is eaten occasionally, and particularly, when they meet together to make merry, and drink sakki; a statement perfectly in consonance with the Scottish dhulish. He also states it be cut into pieces and boiled, when it grows much thicker than before, and is mixed with other food.

On some parts of the coast of Niphon, they gather a species of ulva, or sea-weed; this they dry and roast over the coals, rubbing it down afterwards to a very fine powder, which they eat with boiled rice, and with soup.—Ed.

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that the Japanese cats do not catch mice.* This is however false; were it not, Nature must deviate in Japan from her own laws. Besides experience has convinced us of the contrary. A Japanese he-cat, that we had, understood his business perfectly, and was not inferior to any of his European brethren. I must observe besides, that he often amused us in prison by his tricks, and was our favourite, and therefore was never in want of food; yet instinct made him catch the rats and mice. If European writers have so often denied to Japanese animals, the qualities with which Nature has endowed them, can we wonder that they painted the Japanese in such false colours?

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* Charlevoix states, that neither greyhounds nor spaniels are to be met with in Japan; whence those islanders have few sports of the field: but when they do indulge in that amusement, they make use of common dogs, of which the number was then very great, owing to the whimsical circumstance, of the Emperor Tsinigos, about the middle of the 17th century, being born under the constellation which they call "the Dog." They were permitted to increase to an insufferable extent; the inhabitants being forced to maintain a dog kennel in every street.

The Japanese cats have been described as of extraordinary beauty; their colour whitish, with large black and yellow spots; their tails short. It certainly is asserted, that these cats will not molest a mouse, and are kept only for amusement. They are very fond of being caressed and carried; and the ladies treat them like lap dogs.—Ed.

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Chickens and ducks are the only domestic fowl that the Japanese use (though but seldom), as food. Though it is permitted in some sects, yet from attachment to these animals they do not like to kill them. If one of us was ill, and the Japanese wished to make him some chicken broth, as they had heard that it was usually given to the sick in Europe, they had great difficulty in finding any body who would sell them a fowl, though they offered a high price for one.*

The Japanese are fond of eggs; they boil them hard, and eat them at the dessert like fruit, frequently with oranges. For us, they boiled them in soup with vegetables. For people of distinction, fowls are kept in rooms,† where they lay their eggs, and are fed with rice. The great people would not eat the eggs of fowls that run about at their will and pick up what they can find. Many keep also swans, geese and turkeys, but merely for pleasure, as we do peacocks, which they also have.

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* So much of the Pythagorean doctrine exists here, that when any person is at the point of death, upon the days consecrated to the deceased, it is forbidden to his relations, to kill any bird whatever. In the monasteries cocks are held sacred; from their being considered as morning alarums.—Ed.

† Among their fowls they have also the guinea fowl.

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Of wild Quadrupeds, the Japanese use for some purposes the following: * wild boars, bears, deer, hares and wild goats. Those sects, which are allowed to eat meat, use them for food; and in the northern parts of Japan, where the winters are very cold, the poor people use bears skins as quilts. The rich have travelling bags or cases made of these skins to put over things which they desire to protect against bad weather, such as trunks with clothes, bottle-cases and the like.

The gall of the bear is made by them into a solid mass, and used as a strengthening medicine, for weakness in the stomach, and other disorders.† It is highly valued by the Japanese for its medicinal virtue, and paid for at a high price. They affirm, that the gall of those bears which are killed in the island of Niphon, is far more efficacious, than that of the bears of Matsmai, which latter are therefore

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* We are told by the early writers, that there have never been asses, mules, camels nor elephants in Japan. As for savage beasts, they can find no shelter in a country so well cultivated. Sheep and goats were carried there by the Portuguese, which multiplied exceedingly: but these have been suffered by the Japanese to run wild, because they dare not eat their flesh, and know not how to manufacture the wool or hair.—Ed.

† In the province of Figon, there are fine hogs, first imported by the Chinese. These they breed, not for use, but to sell to the Chinese and Dutch.—Ed.

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less esteemed. The hunters often practice great frauds in the sale of the bear's gall. When they are on the chace they kill all the animals that come in their way, and take out the gall; if they have the good fortune to kill a bear, they carry him home as publicly as possible, in order to attract attention, and as the Japanese miss no opportunity of purchasing the valuable medicine, all who meet the hunters, ask if they have already sold the bear's gall? The huntsman then gives them the gall of some other animal, and if the purchaser is not a judge, he is defrauded. In this manner they will sell the gall of a bear many times over. Many of the Japanese however, are able to distinguish by the taste, not only the gall of any animal from that of a bear, but even the gall of the bear of Niphon, from that of those of Matsmai. Our interpreter Kumaddschero, was such a judge. The method of using this remedy is very simple, they bite off little pieces and swallow them.

Of deer-skins the Japanese manufacture a kind of thick and fine shamois leather.

Of useful insects the Japanese have silk-worms and bees. The honey which the latter produce is employed only in medicine, and the wax used only by apothecaries, for plaisters.*

* They have besides, bees, wasps, common flies, bugs, fire flies, beetles, grasshoppers, and similar insects, in equal propor-

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In the third and last division of the productions of Japan, I reckon those from which the inhabitants derive little or no advantage. Among them I may mention coals, which are in abundance in Japan, but not used.

Raspberries, wild and garden strawberries, which we esteem so highly in Europe, are not eaten by the Japanese: they consider them as un-

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tion with any part of Europe. But of the more remarkable kinds there is the mountain butterfly, either quite black or of the most beautiful variety of colours; also the Romuri, a large night fly, extremely handsome; with beetles that shine like a glow-worm. Of these there is one species whose *hum*, it is said by the Japanese, can be heard at the distance of a mile—perhaps it may be *seen* as far off! There are two other species which make nearly as much noise; but, perhaps, the most curious fact is, that the females of the three species are dumb!

There is another night fly, but extremely rare, about as long as a finger, with four wings; two of which are transparent, and the others of a shining brightness, embellished with spots and streaks of such exquisite brilliancy, that the ladies actually wear them along with their jewels.

When butterflies were first introduced here by the Chinese, in their insect state, and as a medicine of cordial virtues, the Japanese were quite astonished; describing them, to Thunberg, as a crawling insect in summer, but a plant in winter; being then in its chrysalis state, and found adhering to the roots of plants. They were not aware of its subsequent change.

Amongst the insects the most destructive is the white ant, so common throughout the east. They are called, in Japan, by a name which signifies the "Piercer;" as they will find their way

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wholesome. These fruits, however, are really not at all pleasant in Japan; they are, indeed, as large as ours, and of a dark red colour, but they are not sweet, are very watery, and almost without smell. In general the Japanese eat no berries that grow on herbs.

The following wild quadrupeds are found in Japan:* bears, panthers, leopards, wolves, wild

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through any substance except stone or metal. Their habits are like those of the European ants; but they are much more destructive. The Japanese are of opinion that the scattering of salt will drive them away; but the red ant is their most inveterate enemy.

The Centipede is also found here; but its bite is by no means so inflammatory as in warmer climates.

Serpents are not numerous; but there is a green one, with a flat head and sharp teeth, whose bite is so deadly that the Japanese believe whoever is bitten during the day, must infallibly die before sunset. The soldiers hunt them for the sake of their flesh; to eat which, they suppose, will make a man valiant.—Ed.

* Charlevoix enumerates deer, hares, wild boars, asses, bears, wild dogs, foxes, rats and mice. In one island there is a species of deer extremely tame and gentle; which are forbidden, by the laws, to be either killed or hunted. Should one be found dead near any house, the owner would be obliged to pay a heavy fine, or forced to labour for a certain number of days, for the temples or the public service. Consequently the people are very anxious to bury them whenever they find them dead in the vicinity of their villages or houses. There is another animal called the Tanuki, of a very singular appearance: his colour dark

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dogs, and foxes. Many superstitious Japanese ascribe to the last the power of the devil. In the southern and middle provinces of the empire, there are monkeys of a small race; in the island of Matsmai, sables, but their fur is reddish, and therefore does not bear a high price. Elephants, tigers, lions, camels, apes, greyhounds, pointers, setting-dogs, and other species of dogs, are known to the Japanese only from drawings.

There are numerous kinds of birds of prey in Japan;* such as eagles, falcons, hawks, kites,

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brown, with a muzzle like that of a fox; he is not very large, and is supposed to be a species of wolf. There is also a small animal, the Itutz, of a reddish hue, so familiar as almost to domesticate itself, making its nest in the roofs of the houses.—Ed.

* When the Jesuits wrote, the wild birds were so familiar that many kinds might be considered as nearly domesticated. The crane was protected by special edict; and no person could kill one without the emperor's licence expressly for that purpose, even though it might be for the diversion of that prince himself. In fact, cranes and tortoises are considered as animals of good augury. Their figures are painted on the walls of the royal apartments and of the temples; and such is the respect in which the former are held by the lower classes, that they are never spoken of without an honourable prefix to their name, tantamount to "His worship the Crane!" Herons are white, grey, and bluish. Wild geese are of two sorts, which never intermix: one white as snow, the other of an ashey grey. It is death to kill them without a licence.

One species of the duck is so very beautiful that many per-

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&c. Of wild fowl, the sects that may eat meat use geese and ducks for food. Swans and cranes are held sacred, and nobody dares to kill them. Of singing birds, such as we also have, we saw in cages, starlings, bull-finches, and green-finches; but no others. The Japanese are fond of singing birds in their houses, and there are shops that deal in them.

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sons, who have seen paintings of it, have believed them to be coloured from fancy. The plumage is formed of various shades of the most brilliant colours; the vermillion predominating in the neck and breast: the tail and wings have a most curious arrangement; and its step is peculiarly majestic.

The pheasants are extremely beautiful, with very long tails, formed of the most exquisite colours. Snipes are very common: in fact, the snipe and the *mullet* are found in all parts of the world. The wild pigeons have a black and blue plumage. They are not permitted to make their nests in the houses, on account of the very inflammable nature of their excrement, from the quantity of saltpetre contained in it. The storks remain all the year in Japan. The best falcons are brought from the northern provinces; and are kept rather for shew than service. Sparrow-hawks are very common, and of extraordinary fierceness. Crows have increased amazingly, from two that were brought from China as a present to one of the earlier emperors. There is a nocturnal bird, called Token, of most exquisite flavour, only served up on the tables of the great, and upon extraordinary occasions. It might be of use if imported into this country, as its ashes are said to be very efficacious in restoring sour beer.

Amongst other wild birds there is a beautiful species of white herons, so numerous and so tame as to follow, or rather to accompany, the peasants whilst at work with their hoes, in

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More common birds, such as cuckoos, ravens, crows, sparrows, &c. are as numerous in the north of Japan and Matsmai as with us. Parrots and canary birds are not met with in Japan: on the coasts there is abundance of sea-fowl,* such as albatrosses, cormorants, various species of gulls, Greenland pigeons, &c.

This is all that I am able to say of the natural productions of Japan.

In speaking of the manufactures of this em-

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order to feast upon the worms. In this useful occupation they are encouraged; and protected by the wholesome superstitions of the people.

In the south-west district of Japan, there are immense numbers of pelicans, which, with wild ducks, &c. build their nests in the pine trees.—Ed.

* Amongst these we may enumerate the Bisago, carniverous, and resembling the sparrow-hawk. It lives principally upon fish; and selects holes in the rocks where it deposits its prey. It is in great demand, and sells very dear. Sea mews, sea crows, sea pies, sparrows, swallows, and other small birds, are as common as in Europe. The Japanese larks have a finer song than ours; and the nightingales are in great demand.

Shooting does not seem to be a very favorite amusement in those districts which Thunberg visited; as he declares that whilst sailing amongst the islands, particularly in fine weather, several species of wild ducks, particularly those called the Chinese Teal, were assembled on the surface of the sea, in such numbers that at a distance they seemed like islands, from whence they are never scared away by the gun.—Ed.

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pire, those of silk, steel, porcelain, and lackered goods, must have the first place.*

The silk manufactories are important, not only on account of the quantity but also the good quality of the articles which they furnish. The Japanese make several kinds of stuffs and costly articles, which are not at all inferior to those of China.

With respect to steel manufactures, the Japanese sabres and daggers surpass all others in the world, those of Damascus perhaps excepted. They bear extraordinary trials. The Japanese are extremely skilful in polishing steel, and all other metals: they make metal mirrors, which are scarce.

* All the mechanic arts are said, by the earliest writers, to be much cultivated: yet it is strange that the Japanese are considered as totally without invention, deriving all their knowledge from China; though it must be confessed that they have brought many of the Chinese arts to very high perfection. Nothing comes out of their hands but with the highest finish. In gilding, chasing, and engraving, they were considered incomparable, a century ago. Their silks and paper were much superior to Chinese manufacture. Their porcelain was of the finest kind; and the temper of their steel was such that nothing could resist the cut of their sabres.

The greatest number, and at the same time the best of the workmen, as well as manufacturers and artists, together with the most capital merchants, are all established at Meaco, the capital of the Spiritual Emperor. There are to be purchased the finest velvets and silks, wove with gold and silver, besides wrought metals and manufactures in gold, silver and copper. Their cloths, and likewise their best weapons are to be had only at Meaco.—Ed.

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ly inferior to looking-glasses. We often saw carpenter's and cabinet-maker's tools, made in Japan, which might almost be compared with the English: their saws are so good, that the thinnest boards may be sawn out of the hardest wood.

That the Japanese lackered goods surpass those of other nations is notorious.

The Japanese porcelain is far superior to the Chinese; but it is dearer, and manufactured in such small quantities, that it is insufficient for the consumption of Japan itself; so that a great deal of porcelain is imported from China. The Japanese have also a more ordinary porcelain and earthen-ware, but they are both coarse and clumsy: it is only on the best porcelain that they employ much time and labour.

The cotton manufactories must be extremely numerous, from the universal use of cotton stuffs; but the Japanese want either skill or inclination to manufacture good articles out of cotton. At least we never saw any thing particular of this kind. When they saw our East-India pocket handkerchiefs, and muslin neck-cloths, they would not believe that they were made of cotton.*

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* There is an amusing little tradition, amongst the Japanese, (mentioned also by our author, in Chapter the second,) respecting the first introduction of the fine, and indeed the useful arts, into their country, from China. They believe that a Chinese Emperor, about two centuries before the Christian Era,

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In the working of metals the Japanese are extremely skilful, particularly in the manufacture of copper utensils.

The Japanese understand the art of casting metal statues; they also carve them in stone and wood; but, to judge by the idols which we saw in the temples at Matsmai, these arts are very imperfect among them. In these, as well as in painting, engraving, and printing,* they are far behind even

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thinking the life of man too short, became anxious to procure some specific against death; and, for that purpose, sent literary missions into every country with which he was acquainted. These researches, of course, were in vain; but one of his *Savans*, anxious to escape from his tyranny, conceived a plan, and founded it upon this circumstance. His first measure was to inform the Emperor that he knew, to a certainty, the grand *desideratum* was only to be found in Japan; but that it was a plant of such a delicate nature, and of such a tender organization, that, unless it should be culled by the purest hands, and with the greatest precaution, it would lose all its virtues before it could be brought to China. He therefore proposed that three hundred virtuous youths, and as many virgins, should be selected for their beauty and sound constitutions; adding, that he himself would lead them to the spot. This was readily agreed to by the Emperor. The wiseman sailed with the little colony of his friends, and settled in Japan; and the Japanese now record on their annals that from this adventure their ancestors acquired a knowledge of literary cultivation, of the arts and useful sciences.—ED.

* Their taste in painting is very singular; but they may be said to excel in it. Their penciling is very delicate; but it seems

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those Europeans among whom these arts are still in their infancy. In carving, they are tolerably skilled; and their gold, silver, and copper coins are well executed.* They follow various trades with success. They have great distilleries, in which they distil, from rice, their brandy, called Sotschio, and their wine, Sagi: also tobacco manufactories, iron-works, &c. Thousands are employed in the manufacture of straw-shoes, hats, and mats. The manufactories are spread over the whole kingdom, but the principal are in the cities of Kio, Yeddo, and Osaga.

The Japanese pursue, with equal diligence, various other species of employment, particularly the fishery. They catch animals of various kinds in traps, but they shoot still more; they use dogs merely to trace them. They take birds in nets, as

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that they pay very little attention to portrait painting, confining themselves generally to birds, flowers, and the like. They paint always upon paper; some sheets of which have been sold for four thousand crowns of gold. These must certainly have been much superior to any specimens of their art that have ever found their way to Europe; and, indeed, they are said to be preserved in the cabinets of the rich with the most jealous scrupulosity.—Ed.

* The copper used in coinage, so celebrated as Japan copper, after being roasted and smelted at various smelting houses, is always refined and manufactured at Meaco; where also all the coin is struck and stamped.—Ed.

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well as by shooting them. A particular method is employed to catch small birds: they make of tar, or the sap of a tree, a thick and clammy paste, with which they smear the trunks of fallen trees, and strew rice around. The rice tempts the birds, which stick to the trees, and are caught in flocks.

Before I finish my account of the industry of the Japanese, I must observe, that there are among them, as among all nations, idle people, who ramble about the streets and public houses, and seek their livelihood by juggler's tricks, and begging.* The following method, by which idle people, especially women, gain money, deserves particular mention. They catch a number of snakes, of different sizes and colours, from which they extract the sting so skilfully, that they cannot do any mischief. Then they strip themselves quite naked, cover merely the parts which decency teaches even savages to conceal, and wind snakes round their arms, legs, and their whole body. In this manner they make themselves a motley covering of the open, hissing serpent's heads; and in this dreadful and brilliant costume, they ramble about the streets, sing, dance, and play all manner of anticks, to obtain a reward, or rather charity.

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* Juggling and necromancy are so much in vogue in Japan that one class of their bonzes, or monks, openly profess to practice the magic art.—Ed.

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Japan may certainly be called a commercial state, if an extensive national trade, alone, gives a claim to this title.* All the principalities, and provinces of this populous Empire have a commercial intercourse with each other. The extraordinary diversity of climate produces, in the different provinces, a great variety of articles which all mutually want. Necessity, the industry and activity of the people give them means to make use of the productions of nature and art; so that the inhabi-

* Their internal commerce must feel a severe check from the want of wheel carriages; the only ones seen by Thunberg, were between Osaka and Meaco. These were long and narrow, built like carts, and running on three wheels, two behind and one forwards. In many instances, the wheels consisted of an entire piece of wood sawed off a log; with a cord, or other substitute for a tire hoop, put round the felly, to guard against the wheel being worn by friction. Sometimes, indeed, these wheels were made with staves and spokes, bearing a faint resemblance to an European wheel, yet still unmounted with iron, and extremely liable to be broken. Some of these carts, which were drawn by oxen, had only two wheels; but the whole of them were so destructive to the roads, that they were only permitted to drive on one side of the high way, whence it became necessary to adopt a whimsical regulation, that all carts leaving the city should depart in the morning, and that none should be permitted to approach the city until the evening.

The whole of this detail manifests that stagnation of improvement, and the check to advancement in civilization, which the Japanese system produces.—Ed.

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tants of the whole empire carry on a commercial intercourse with each other, both by land and water. The latter is the most common. The sea along the coasts, and the navigable rivers, are covered with thousands of vessels, which convey goods to all parts of the empire.

Though their navigation is wholly confined to the coasts, and their vessels quite unfit for long voyages, particularly in great seas, they however are well adapted to their purposes. Many of them are above 100 feet long, and uncommonly broad. The largest Japanese ships can carry a burthen of from 16, to 20,000 poods.*

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* Thunberg describes one of their largest vessels, in which he performed a voyage, coastwise, of one hundred leagues, as ninety feet in length, and above twenty-four in breadth, very square at the stern, with a large and wide opening there, for the rudder, which can easily be unshipped. He adds, that agreeably to the strictest orders, all vessels must be in this form, with a view to prevent the people from going to sea in them, and quitting the country. They are frequently built of fir or cedar, and by no means so strong as European vessels. The keel has a turn, upwards, fore and aft: they have only one mast; and in a calm they are rowed; the cabins project beyond the sides of the vessel. The mast may be lowered like those of our own river barges; and is always down when in port, the sail forming an awning for the people.

One of their vessels, of one hundred tons burthen, was seen by Peyrouse, who describes her as having about twenty men on board,

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The Japanese have many useful regulations and institutions for the safety of navigation; such as pilots in every port, to conduct the ships in and out, and to foretel the weather according to certain signs, in order to advise the captains either to sail, or to wait; in dangerous places, people are employed to keep up fires; upon eminences, marks are set up for the direction of mariners, &c. For

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dressed in blue cassocks like those worn by catholic priests. She had one very lofty mast, exactly in the centre, and which appeared to consist of several small poles, kept together by brass hoops and numerous wootrings. Her main sail was of cloth, the edges of the breadths not sewed, or seamed, but laced. The sail was very large for her size; and two jibs with a sprit-sail, completed her canvas. A small gallery or gangway, about three feet wide, projected over her sides from stem to stern; and at her head she had outriggers painted green. She had a boat, stowed athwart ships forward, seven or eight feet longer than the breadth of the vessel. Her shape and sheer were very ugly; flat poop with two little windows; very little carving; and bearing scarcely any resemblance to Chinese vessels, except in the mode of securing the rudder by ropes. Her projecting gangways were not more than two or three feet above the water line; and even the boat, as Peyrouse supposed, must dip when she came to roll in a heavy sea. That unfortunate navigator adds, that every thing he saw in the appearance of this vessel made him believe that she was not intended to go any distance from the land, and that she would find any thing of a rough sea extremely hazardous; but, he conjectured that the Japanese must have vessels fitter for the sea during the winter. He also states, that he passed so near to her as to be able clearly to see the countenances of the people, which expressed neither fear

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the conveyance of goods, by land, where it cannot be made by water, good roads and bridges are constructed; Matsmai is merely a Japanese colony; yet, notwithstanding the high mountains and precipices, the rapid torrents, and the rudeness of the climate, the roads are in an admirably good condition. In the open country, far from the towns, we saw bridges,* such as I did not meet

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nor astonishment; and they never changed their course, until within pistol shot of his consort, when they yawed in order to give her a clear birth. This vessel had a small white flag on which were some words written vertically; and her name was painted upon a kind of weather board, close to the ensign staff.

It is a certain fact, however, that formerly the Japanese navigation was more extensive; for in 1604, when Sir Edw. Michelburne, and John Davis, two English captains, were amongst the islands to the N.E. of Java, they fell in with a Japanese junk, which had been "pyrating along the coast of China, and Camboia." There are some curious particulars about them in *Purchas' Pilgrims, vol.* 1, *p.* 138.—Ed.

* Thunberg describes the bridges, in the southern district, as being built in a magnificent style, and furnished with ballustrades. The largest in the empire is at Mickawa, built of wood, and cost near 100,000*l.*

Where there are no bridges, fords are always pointed out, with proper guides for passing them. Though some of these are dangerous, yet few accidents occur, which Kœmpfer attributes to the precautionary regulation of making the guides answerable for the lives of those whom they undertake to conduct across.—Ed.

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with in many European states, and in provincial towns.

The commercial spirit of the Japanese is visible in all the towns and villages. In almost every house there is a shop, for more or less important goods; and, as we see in England the magnificent magazine of a jeweller, next door to an oyster shop, so we see here a rich silk merchant and a mender of straw shoes, live and carry on their business close to each other. In their regard to order, the Japanese very much resemble the English; they love cleanliness and the greatest accuracy. All goods have in Japan, as in England, little printed bills, on which are noted the price, the use, and the name of the article, the name of the maker, or manufactory, and often something in their praise. Even tobacco, pomatum, tooth-powder and other trifles, are wrapped up in papers, on which a notice of the quality and the price is printed. In packing up goods, they observe the same order as in Europe. Rice and other grain they pack in sacks made of straw. They have no casks for liquids; but keep them, as Sotschio, Sagi, Soja, &c. in tubs which hold three or four pail-fulls. These tubs have only wooden hoops, and are broader above than below; in the top board there is a small hole, generally square. The best kind of sagi is kept in large earthen jars. Stuffs of all kinds, tea, &c. are packed up in

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chests. Silk goods are laid in pieces, in separate chests which are made of very thin boards, and have an inscription indicating the article, the name of the maker, the measure and the quality.

In every port there is a bureau, or custom house,* which has the superintendence of the loading and unloading of goods, takes care that nothing is privately imported or exported, levies the duty, and has also other functions. The duty, for almost all goods imported, is paid by the mer-

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* Thunberg says, in 1775, that there were no custom-houses either in the interior, or on the coasts, nor were customs demanded either from strangers or natives, on import or export; but the search, which he describes as taking place, in order to guard against the introduction of prohibited goods, was so strict as to be always extremely troublesome and inconvenient, and often most absurdly whimsical. Beds were ripped open; butter tubs and sweet-meat jars probed with iron spikes; holes cut in cheeses, which were also pierced with wires; and even a certain number of eggs broken! A Dutch seaman once endeavoured to carry a parrot on shore in his trowsers; but the bird, talking, was discovered!

The officers of the Dutch ships had long carried on a lucrative smuggling system, through the personal exertions of the captain alone, as he always made it a practice to go on shore with an immense coat, and also large inexpressibles stuffed out with prohibited goods, to such an extent, that he was sometimes unable to walk without assistance. This farce was always commenced on first making the coast, by the captain putting on his smuggling dress stuffed with cushions, in order to avoid suspicion; but this was discovered, and put a stop to, when Thunberg visited Japan.—Ed.

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chants into the coffer of the Emperor, or of the Princes, according as the port is in the dominions of the Emperor, or of one of the Princes. The superintendence of the ships, in the port, is confided to an officer, whose functions nearly correspond with those of our harbour-masters; in Japan, they are also superintendents of the pilots. Before we were released from Japan, we lived at Chakodade, in the house of a harbour-master, and saw that a great many seamen and other persons, came to him every morning, whence we could conclude, that his post was not inconsiderable.

For the advantage of the merchants, and to facilitate trade, the government publishes a kind of commercial gazette, which contains an account of the prices of goods in the different parts of the empire. In the same manner, the public is informed by little billets of the good crop of rice, and other productions, in all the provinces; nay, from the time that the corn begins to shoot, till the harvest, the people are informed from time to time of its condition. This attention of the Japanese government, to the general and individual interests of its subjects, is highly laudable, and may serve as one reason for us Europeans no longer to look upon the Japanese as barbarians.

In order to extend trade over the whole empire, and give the merchants more resources and facilities, the Japanese have introduced bills of

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exchange, and promissory notes, such as are met with in the European states, under the protection of the laws.* In one of the southern principalities of Japan, there are bank notes, which circulate as money. There are three kinds of coin in Japan; gold, silver, and copper. The latter are round, with holes in the middle, by which they are put upon a string, and carried as in a purse. This money is called by the Japanese *mon*. When they saw our *copecs*, they compared them with this coin, and found that four Japanese *mon* made one *copec*. The gold and silver coins are longish, four cornered, and thicker than an Imperial. The name, value, date of the year, and name of the maker, are stamped on each. As I had no opportunity of learning either the standard of the metal, or the weight, I cannot compare them with our coin.

The greatest trade by land, is carried on in the city of Kio, the residence of the spiritual Emperor.† This city does not lie on the sea, but is

* Thunberg says, that he never met with any representative or paper money; the only circulating medium being specie, coined and stamped by the government, and the silver coin not being always of the same size, it was customary for the merchants to weigh it upon receipt.—Ed.

† No change of life with respect to the spiritual Emperor,

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very populous, and has manufactories of all kinds; it is, therefore, visited by merchants from all parts of the empire, who cannot convey their own goods thither, or bring away what they purchase, except by land. Of all the maritime cities, Yeddo, the residence of the temporal Emperor, and the Osaga, the most beautiful of all the cities, 120 Japanese ri, (or 500 wersts,) southwest of Yeddo, carry on

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or Dairi, seems to have taken place, when Thunberg visited Meaco, or Kio. His court and palace are within the town, but in a separate quarter from the rest, forming a large town of itself, surrounded by a fosse, and lofty stone wall. There he lives, surrounded by his concubines, a great number of attendants, and priests. It is, indeed, to him a prison, for out of it he never passes, and whenever he leaves the palace to walk in the gardens, it is made known to the attendants by certain signals, in order that no unholy or male personage, shall approach his sacred person. These pedestrian excursions, within his *rules*, seem not to be very frequent, as the signal was made but once, during a stay of several days at Meaco by Thunberg and his companions.

It is at the court of the Dairi, or spiritual Emperor, settled at Meaco, that the principal encouragement is given to all kinds of literature. Indeed the support there afforded, places it in the rank of a royal academy. In consequence of this, Meaco has become the emporium for literature, and all books permitted to be published, are there printed.

When captain Saris was here, in 1612, the principal temple he describes as built of free-stone, and as long as from the west end of (old) St. Paul's, in London, to the choir; being as high arched, and borne upon pillars, as that was.—Ed.

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the greatest trade. There are, besides, in almost every principality that borders on the sea, considerable commercial cities.

It is well known in Europe, how restricted the trade with foreigners is in Japan. The cause of it is probably the distrust of the Japanese government in the Europeans, and their bad opinion of them, for which it must be owned that the Europeans alone are to blame. Whether the Japanese government judges rightly or not, I leave to others to decide, and will merely observe, that the people of Japan, in general, wish to trade with foreigners, particularly Europeans.* The enlightened Japanese reason as follows: "The people are blind, as far as regards the government of this kingdom, and only know superficially, what most nearly concerns them; they cannot see two steps before them, and therefore, might easily fall down a precipice, unless they were guided by persons who can see. Thus the Japanese, without considering the bad consequences which might result from an intercourse with foreigners, see only the personal advantage which they might derive from trading with them."

* Amongst the prohibited exports are coins, chests, maps, books descriptive of Japan, and all sorts of arms, particularly their scimetars, which are said to be of a temper that no other country can equal.—Ed.

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Till the attempt of the Europeans to introduce the christian religion into Japan, that empire carried on an extensive commerce with all the East.* Japanese ships sailed not only to China and the Indian Islands, but even to the continent of India, which the Japanese call Tendzigu. But the christian religion, or rather the catholic preachers of it, inspired the people with such terror, that the Government, after the extirpation of christianity two centuries ago, forbade the Japanese, under pain of death, to travel to foreign countries, and did not allow foreigners to come to Japan, except with great precautions, and in small numbers. Japanese ships can now only trade to Corea, and the Likeo (Loo-Choo) Islands, because the inhabitants are

* Of the extent of conversion, so much boasted of by the Jesuits, we may form some judgment by a circumstance that took place at Firando, on the arrival of the first English ship there. Captain Saris states in his journal, that leave was given by the general to several women of the better sort to enter the cabin, "where hung a large framed picture of Venus and her son Cupid, somewhat wantonly drawn; they, taking it for their Lady and her son, fell down and worshipped it, with shows of great devotion; telling him, in a whisper, (that some of their companions, who were not so, might not hear) that they were christians; by which they knew them to be Romanists, converted by the Portuguese Jesuits."

It is curious to contrast this with the assertion of Charlevoix, that the astonishing progress of christianity was such that there were almost as many saints as Japanese converts.—Ed.

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considered, in some measure, as Japanese subjects, as they pay tribute. Only Corean, Loo-Choo,* and Japanese ships are admitted in Japan, but in small number. Of the Europeans only the Dutch have a right to trade with them, but on such hard terms, that the Dutch, in Japan, more resemble prisoners

* When Charlevoix wrote in the early part of the past century, drawing his information from the latest Jesuit missionaries, it appears that the people of Loo-Choo were only permitted to carry on commerce with Japan at one particular port, and only to a certain amount; but then they carried on, with considerable activity, a contraband trade. The exports from Loo-Choo were silk, stuffs, and other Chinese manufactures, grain, rice, vegetables, fruit, ardent spirits, mother of pearl, and large oyster-shells, similar to those in different parts of India, which, when cut in laminæ, serve as a substitute for glass in windows, besides flowers and other articles of curiosity and luxury.

Much information respecting these islands may be drawn from the recent voyages of the Alceste and Lyra. Thunberg, in speaking of them, though he did not visit there, says that, a great many years ago, emigrations were very frequent from China to Japan, especially to the southern islands called *Liquejo*, which he describes as subject to Japan, but being in the habit of making annual presents to the Emperor of China.

It appears from the details of Fernand Mendez da Pinto, who was not so very much of a *traveller*, as some have supposed him to be, that the Loo-Choo Islands were well known to the Chinese and Portuguese, previous to the first discovery of Japan, in 1542. But Pinto, though he now appears to have spoken truth about Japan, confesses that he did enlarge a little respecting the greatness and power of Portugal, when he was carried, on his first arrival in Japan, to visit the prince of that district. Of this,

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than free men who are engaged in a commercial intercourse with a friendly power.*

The Chinese supply the Japanese with rice, porcelain, wrought and unwrought ivory, nankeen,

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one example may suffice for all future travellers. When the Prince asked Pinto, if it were true that Portugal was larger and richer than China, that the king of Portugal had conquered the greatest part of the known world, and that he had two thousand houses all filled with gold and silver, as had been stated by the Chinese, in whose ship Mendez was then a passenger, that gentleman had such a delicacy for the veracity of his companions, that he scorned to utter a doubt respecting these extraordinary assertions, and boldly answered in the affirmative!—Ed.

* When the Portuguese (the first Europeans who visited Japan, in the middle of the sixteenth century) began to trade with the Japanese, they had extraordinary privileges. They had the right to import into Japan whatever goods they pleased and to sell them at their own prices in all parts of the empire. But pride, rapacity, and particularly the eagerness of the catholic priests in making proselytes, offended the Japanese government, and laid the foundation of the distrust of the Japanese in the Europeans, except in the Dutch whom they call their friends, doubtless because they consider the Dutch as the most honest among the European nations.

The first positive intercourse of European shipping with Japan was in 1542, when a Portuguese vessel was driven upon the coast by stress of weather. A friendly reception ensued, and the trade continued for a century, coming into the hands of the Spaniards, at the union of the two peninsular crowns, in 1580.

The Portuguese, anxious to renew their intercourse with Japan, in 1640 sent a ship from Macao with two ambassadors and a

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moist sugar, ginseng root,* medicinal herbs, alum, and divers trifles, such as fans, tobacco-pipes, &c. They receive from the Japanese, in return, copper, varnish, lackered goods, salted and dried fish, sea-cabbage and some Japanese manufactures.†

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suite of more than seventy persons. On their arrival at Nangasaki, they were immediately made prisoners, and notice sent to court; orders were received to put them all to death, which was done, with the exception of twelve who had contrived to escape. This horrible murder was performed by decapitation, which was inflicted upon them all at the same instant; and a proclamation was issued, with the barbarous and impious menace, that if the king of the Portuguese, or the God of the Christians should come there, the same fate should attend them.—Ed.

* Ginseng, (Dschin-sen) or the Chinese root, is much valued in China and Japan, where it is sold at a high price, because it is supposed to possess the property of renewing or strengthening the physical powers, which debauched persons early lose.

† The Chinese, however, are only permitted to trade at Nangasaki; should one of their junks visit any other part of the coast, she would be instantly ordered round to that part. So that, according to Thunberg, they had no further privileges than what were allowed to the Dutch.

When general intercourse with foreigners was first prohibited, except with the Chinese and Dutch, the former were only allowed a certain number of vessels, and a certain value of merchandize, but twice as much as was permitted to the latter. In other respects the Chinese were the worst treated, because the Japanese had not forgotten the ill usage they had formerly suffered in the ports of China, from whence they had been rudely driven.

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From the Dutch the Japanese receive sugar, spices, ivory, iron, medicines, saltpetre, alum, some sorts of colours, cloth, glass, and other European articles, such as watches, looking-glasses, mathematical instruments, &c.* They give, in return,

——Thunberg says most positively that the liberty which the Chinese formerly enjoyed with regard to commerce, was, in 1775, greatly curtailed. The cause he assigns is that the Chinese were actually suspected, not only of positively favouring the catholic missionaries in their own country, but also in regard to their designs upon Japan; and he states it as a fact, that the Chinese certainly were so imprudent as to introduce catholic books, printed in China, into Japan.—Ed.

* When the Dutch trade was first established at Nangasaki, the Emperor gave the strictest orders to permit no Japanese vessel, nor even a single individual to go to any other country; to put to death all who should be taken in the attempt; to inflict corporal punishment upon every Japanese who should return from any foreign country; to take every means of checking the spread of christianity; to pay one hundred pieces of gold to whoever should seize a priest; that merchandize should not be sold to one man, but to many; and finally that no noble or soldier should purchase any thing, directly from a foreigner.

The Dutch smuggling trade, formerly carried on to an immense extent, principally by the chief of the factory, and the captains of the different ships, was completely checked about the year 1772, by an unfortunate discovery in consequence of one of their ships having become so leaky, during a gale of wind on the coast, that she was abandoned by the crew under the idea that in a few hours she must go down. The order to burn the vessel in such cases was neglected; and the *Bury*, so she was called, in-

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copper, varnish, rice, and some of their manufactures, such as lackered articles, porcelain, &c. I heard that the Dutch carry on a very advantageous trade with the Japanese goods in the Malay and Molucca Islands.

It is only the harbour of Nangasaky,* in the south of Japan, that is open to the Chinese, as well

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stead of sinking, as expected, actually drove towards the land, was seen by the Japanese and towed into Nangasaki harbour, where a minute examination of her took place, and a complete knowledge was acquired of the system that had been carried on for years; for all her various secret hiding places were opened, and found filled with every species of prohibited goods, especially ginseng, in chests and bags marked with the names of the factors and officers. This excited such suspicions, that on the arrival of the next ships, the captains were obliged to pull off their coats and trowsers, reducing themselves to the natural size; a metamorphosis which is described by Thunberg as affording matter of great astonishment to the Japanese, who had hitherto believed that all the Dutch captains surpassed even their other countrymen in rotund obesity!—Ed.

* The imports by the Dutch ships at Nangasaki, consisted, in 1775, of sugar, elephant's teeth, Japan wood for dying, tin, lead, bar-iron, fine chintzes, Dutch cloths of various colours and fineness, silks, spices, tortoise-shell, saffron, Venice treacle, Spanish liquorice, canes, optical glasses, watches, and the sea-unicorns' horns from Greenland, which bear a high value in Japan. The exports were copper, raw camphor, lackered wood work, porcelain, silks, rice and soy. Hither also England traded until the Dutch procured a prohibition in 1601.

The English trade with Japan, which had begun early in the

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as to the Dutch; all other ports are shut against them. In the same manner, one and the same method is uniformly observed by the Japanese in their trade, or rather barter, with the Chinese and Dutch. When a ship enters the harbour of Nangasaky, after the usual ceremonies and questions, the goods are landed.* Then the imperial officers (for the foreign trade is a monopoly of the Emperor's) examine the quality and quantity of the goods, consult together, and fix the price in those goods, which the owners of the ship desire to have in return. The latter must either accede to the terms of the Japanese, or take back the goods; for all bargaining is impossible. In this manner, the Emperor buys foreign goods, by the medium of

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seventeenth century, ceased about the year 1624, and it was not until 1673, that an English ship arrived off Nangasaki, when she underwent a very strict examination, particularly as to the religion of England, which the captain assured the Japanese was the same as that of Holland, a statement that at first seemed to be quite satisfactory. But the Japanese having been informed, through the jealousy of the Dutch, that King Charles II. was married to the Infanta of Portugal, all negociations were instantly put an end to, and the ship obliged to depart.—Ed.

*Charlevoix observes that capital punishments are very unfrequent, except at this city, where the temptation to defraud the Prince of his dues produces a great number of smugglers, who are never suffered to escape when discovered, and who find it impossible to conceal themselves from the numerous custom-house officers.—Ed.

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his commissioners, and sells them wholesale to the Japanese merchants, who sell them by retail. To judge by the high prices, which are paid in Japan for Dutch goods, it must be supposed either that the Dutch are paid exorbitantly dear for them, or that the Emperor and his merchants fix high prices on them; probably both are gainers.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Population and Military Force.

For these two centuries past, Japan has had no wars either abroad or at home, with the exception of very rare internal disturbances; epidemics, as plague and other disorders, except the small-pox and the venereal disease, are unknown to the Japanese; they are therefore unacquainted with those evils that hinder the increase of population in other countries, and are especially happy that the great destroyer of the human race, war, does not brandish among them its destructive torch. A country which enjoys a healthy climate, and uninterrupted peace must be populous. Japan is so. It was however impossible for me to learn the real population of Japan; for the Japanese could not even inform me whether the government had authentic accounts of the number of the people. They considered it as extremely difficult, if not impossible; because many millions of poor people have no fixed abode, and live in the open air, in the streets, in the fields, or the woods. To give us an idea of the population of their country, the literati and the interpreter Teske, shewed a map of Japan, which was drawn upon a very large long sheet of paper. On this map were marked

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not only all the towns but also the villages, so that the paper was hardly to be seen for the names written on it.* They shewed on the road from Mimai to Yeddo, a place which they call a desert, *(Steppe,)* because a neighbouring river, after heavy rains, overflows this spot and renders it unfit for cultivation. This desert is so immense, that the litter bearers who carry travellers, when they set out in the morning, meet with no village till noon, and when they have rested, have to travel again through the desert till sun-set. According to their way of travelling, in litters, they must pass through two barren places, each of which may be above 18 wersts; and this the Japanese call a desert!†

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* The Jesuits have said that the country seemed peopled as if the cities were deserted; whilst the cities swarmed with people as if the country was abandoned. Every one laboured; not an idle person was to be seen.—Ed.

† However incredible it may at first appear, it is by no means unlikely that a decrease in population may arise from and be accounted for in part by, the extreme frequency of suicide in Japan. It is asserted by the Dutch ambassadors that when a criminal of any rank was to be put to death by order of the prince, he always had the choice of ripping up his own bowels or ordering one of his own slaves to cut his head off; in default of which, the punishment was inflicted on him by the king's officers, and his whole family perished with him in infamy and dishonour. On those occasions, the best friends of the culprit

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They also shewed us a plan of the capital, and told us that a man could not walk in one day from one end of it to the other. When we questioned the Japanese respecting its population, they affirmed that it contained upwards of ten millions of inhabitants, and were very angry when we doubted it. They brought us the next day a paper from one of their officers, who had been employed in the police in Yeddo. It was stated in this paper that the city of Yeddo has in its principal streets,* two hundred and eighty thou-

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always immolated themselves along with him; nay many did so even in private life, and servants actually render it part of the agreement with their master. Such practices must naturally produce depopulation. It must be owned indeed that no decrease in population seems to have been suspected by Kœmpfer, who, in 1690, said that considering the supplies of food from the sea, the agricultural industry, with the frugal way of living of the Japanese in general, it was not to be wondered at, that an empire so vast and populous should be abundantly provided with all the necessaries of human life; and that as a particular world, which nature seems purposely to have separated from the rest of the globe, by encompassing it with a rocky and tempestuous sea, it can easily subsist of itself, without any assistance from foreign countries, as long as arts and agriculture are followed and improved by the natives.—Ed.

* In Japanese *Sodo-ïe i. e.* house, the front of which is to the street. They are distinguished from the small houses and huts which are not in the street, but lie scattered about in the city.

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sand houses and in each of them there live from thirty to forty people. Suppose there were only thirty, the number of the inhabitants must amount to eight millions four hundred thousand; * add to this the inhabitants of the small houses and huts, those who live in the open air, the Imperial Guard, the guard of the princes in the capital, their suites, &c., the number of the inhabitants must exceed ten millions. As a confirmation of their assertions, the Japanese mentioned besides, that Yeddo alone contained 36,000 blind people.† To this

* However exaggerated this may appear, it is a fact asserted by Kœmpfer that in the secondary city of Meaco, or Kio, he was a whole day riding through, from one end to the other; but as he acknowledges, not exactly in a straight line. If London in a space of six miles by two, contains one million, a city of twelve miles square, closely inhabited, might contain the above number. Indeed Xavier in 1553, asserts, that he had the best information for saying, that Meaco, previous to some devastation which it had suffered, actually contained 180,000 houses.

Captain Saris also describes the city of Surunga, in 1612, to be as large as London with all its suburbs. Surunga at that period, was the residence of the Emperor, his heir apparent living at Jeddo, or Edoo as Saris calls it, who also says, that this latter city made a most splendid appearance, the ridge-tiles and corner-tiles of the houses being richly gilded, and the posts of the doors gilt and varnished.—Ed.

†Among the many singular institutions in Japan, is the class or order of the blind, who, with the consent of government, are

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we could say nothing, and neither allow the Japanese to be in the right, nor contradict their assertion.

These data may however be very true, for according to the plan of the city, and considering the narrowness of the streets, it may fully contain ten millions of people; as the greatest diameter is more than eight Japanese Ri, or 32 to 35 wersts. Teske assured us that the city, notwithstanding its immense size, increassd more and more, and mentioned as a confirmation of this, that during his stay

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united in a society in the whole kingdom, which has its privileges, laws, and a governor, whom they call Prince. They have assistants, treasurers, &c. who are all blind. They employ themselves according to their abilities in different works, and deliver to their Prince, the money obtained for them, which is placed in a general treasury, and employed according to the rules of the society. Many blind men are physicians, especially in different diseases which the Japanese cure by means of baths; others are musicians. The society owes its foundation to a brave Japanese General, who during the civil wars lost his prince and benefactor, and was made prisoner by his adversary. The victor loaded this general with favours, and at last asked him if he would serve him; but the general answered, that he was indeed sensible of his goodness, but as he had murdered his former master and benefactor, he not only would not serve him, but could not even look at him without feeling an ardent desire of revenge. He was therefore resolved to deprive himself of the means of exercising vengeance, and at these words tore his eyes out of his head, and threw them

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in the capital, he lived with a merchant who dealt in stones, for foundations, and had a considerable demand for them; but as the frequent fires in Yeddo, cannot destroy the stones, they were without doubt bought for new buildings.

The prodigious population of Japan frequently obliges poor people to kill their children, at their birth, when they are weakly and deformed. The laws prohibit those murders under severe penalties; but the government never enquires rigorously how the children died, perhaps from political motives. Thus crimes of this kind are committed without the parents being called to account for

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at the feet of the victor. After the death of this hero, his friends instituted the order of the blind which still exists. (Author's Note).

Early writers describe two orders of the blind. The first was founded by a son of one of the Emperors, named Senmimer, a gay handsome fellow, noted for his intrigues at the court; at length he fixed his affections upon a princess of the blood royal. Their passion was mutual, and possession only tended to increase it, but their happiness was of short duration; for the princess died, and the lover wept his eyes away. To console himself under this misfortune, and at the same time to perpetuate the memory of his mistress, he instituted this order of a blind brotherhood, into which no person with his eyesight, could possibly be admitted.—Ed.

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them.* The reader will certainly not blame me for not giving the population upon mere conjecture. This is impossible, though some travellers will boldly estimate the population of a country, from the number of persons whom they see in the streets of the towns through which they pass.

A state of peace hinders the progress of the art of war in any kingdom, particularly in Japan, where the laws forbid the introduction of foreign improvements, and their own are very incomplete, from their want of experience and practice in the

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* The crime of producing abortion has always been too frequent; and it is said that some of the priests make a trade of selling decoctions of certain woods for that purpose. It is asserted, that it was no uncommon thing, for a female to throttle her child whilst at the breast, when weary of it, or without the means of support.

Charlevoix observes, that it is a most surprising thing in a country so civilized, and amongst a people on whom nature so strongly enforces her rights, that there should exist a custom which permits the strangling or exposure of children, when their parents are unable to maintain and provide for them. But, he says, as there is no vice which the frailty of human nature does not attempt to raise to a virtue, so the Japanese believe they are performing an act of humanity in delivering their offspring from a life which could only be unhappy. They certainly have no idea of a Foundling Hospital; but the evil is in some measure counteracted by the custom amongst the wealthy, who are childless, of adopting the progeny of those who have too many, amongst their relatives and friends.—Ed.

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art of war. In fact it requires at least a century to introduce an innovation into their military system; strict observance of the ancient order and rules, is their unalterable tactics.*

I have before observed that the military profession is hereditary in Japan. Every body, upon entering into the service, is obliged to take an oath to the Emperor, which he signs with his blood from the right hand. If he is promoted he has no need of new oaths.† There are in Japan, soldiers belonging to the Emperor and others belonging to the princes. Every prince is bound to maintain a certain number of soldiers, and to employ them at the pleasure of the Emperor. We could not learn the strength of the Japanese military force:

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* The Japanese, however, have long had a very different opinion of themselves. In one of Xaviers's epistles, written in 1553, he asserts, that in all warlike affairs, especially in regard to cavalry, they considered themselves as second to none; on which account, they vain-gloriously boasted their own power, and vilified their neighbours.—Ed.

†It is stated by the Jesuits, that as soon as the male youths return to the paternal mansion from the academy, military arms are instantly put into their hands, and they are taught their exercise, with great ceremonies, which render the occasion a complete *fête*, and shew that war is the predominant passion of the nation: so that in fact, every Japanese may be said to be born a soldier. So jealous are they of their arms as never to quit them but to sleep, and even then they place them on their bolsters.—Ed.

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nay, we avoided carrying our curiosity too far; lest, with our extensive knowledge of Japan, we should pass the whole of our lives in a Japanese prison; for the Japanese might have put an unfavourable construction on our numerous questions, and have thought that we collected this information in order to injure them. The distrust of the Japanese government, respecting Europeans in general, shews itself particularly towards the Russians, as being frontier neighbours.

The Japanese military force consist of artillery, infantry, and cavalry. We did not see the last, but were informed that the best men were selected for it. They have rich dresses, and fine horses, and are armed with sabres, pikes and pistols.

The Japanese artillery is still extremely imperfect. It is nearly in the same state as it was in Europe, at the time that cast cannon began to be used. Those cast in Japan are of copper; and, in proportion to the calibre, uncommonly thick. The breech is unscrewed, in order to load; the Japanese therefore, load their cannon very slowly, and do not fire until all the artillery men have retired to some distance; one of them then discharges it with a long linstock. Their cannonading therefore may put to flight savages by the noise, but not Europeans. The Japanese have no cannon of large calibre, they have however, some Dutch 18

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and 24 pounders; we saw such a one upon a battery near Chakodade.* They use besides, little falconets, which however are extremely heavy on account of their thickness; their carriages are very bad, and so heavy that they cannot be moved but with the greatest difficulty. The Japanese have their own powder, which consists of the same ingredients as ours, but whether in the same proportions I canno tell. I conjecture that they put too much charcoal in it, for the smoke is extremely thick and black. We had no opportunity to see any Japanese fireworks; but according to their accounts, they are very skilful in making them. They gave us a description of them.

The Japanese infantry is armed with muskets, arrows and pikes; the sabre and the dagger are the

* Fernan Mendez Pinto who, like our Abyssinian Bruce, is now known to be more worthy of credit than was at one time supposed, asserts that fire arms were unknown to the Japanese in 1542, when he first visited that country. One of his companions, named Zeinold, had an Arquebus, and the Japanese prince was so delighted with its effect, that he led him in grand procession on horseback through the city, proclaiming him to be incorporated into his own family. Pinto further states, that Zeinold presented this arquebuss to the prince; and as the Japanese were even then very industrious, and good copyists, they instantly began a manufacture of fire arms, so that at the end of five months, when the Portuguese left Japan, these arquebusses had become very common.—Ed.

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arms of every soldier.* Their muskets and pistols have copper barrels which are very heavy. The butt ends are very small, and they do not put them to their shoulder when they fire, but lay them to their right cheek and so take aim. Instead of a flint they have a match to the lock, which they light when it is necessary; but as, in loading the piece, it is necessary to be extremely careful that the powder in the pan may not catch fire too soon, their loading proceeds very slowly.

The Japanese are more dexterous in the management of the bow and arrows: their pikes are fastened to long poles, and are very heavy and inconvenient.

The constant uniform of the Japanese soldiers consists in a short coat which I have before described under the name of chauri; they wear it over their own clothes without a girdle. Only the imperial soldiers have black silk chauri, with white seams on the breast and back. The soldiers of all

* Marco Polo describes an extraordinary kind of defensive armour, worn by some of the Japanese in the 13th century when invaded by the Tartars under a grandson of Zengis Chan. He says that the Tartar troops took only one castle, and put the garrison to the sword, with the exception of eight Zipangrians who carried on their arms (or between the skin and flesh, as one old edition has it,) certain precious stones, which iron or steel could not pierce; so they were obliged to complete their slaughter by means of heavy clubs.—Ed.

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the reigning princes have particular uniforms made of cotton, but all of the same cut. Thus for instance, the soldiers of the prince of Nambu have light blue chauri, with a white cross on the back; those of the prince of Tzyngaru, black chauri, with a white square, &c.*

The state or holiday dress of the soldiers is very costly: it consists of white trowsers, and a short upper garment like a cloak or hood, both made of fine silk, and embroidered with gold, silver or silk. These dresses are of different colours. They are preserved in the imperial arsenals, and delivered to the soldiers when it is necessary. When the Diana lay in the harbour of Chakodade, all the soldiers in the city wore their state dresses.

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*These marks or insignia are generally spoken of by Thunberg and other writers, as if similar to European heraldry, to which however they can only be synonimous, if any dependence can be placed on the engraved title-page of the London edition of Kœmpfer, apparently copied from the Dutch one. The "Insignia gentilitia" with which it is ornamented, bear a greater resemblance to the merchant's marks, more in use formerly than now, than to heraldry. These consist of fruits, flowers, fancy ornaments &c.: but in one or two instances, there are a cross bottonné, a shield paly of 7, a rudder, and some things which resemble water bougets.

It is a curious fact stated by St. Francis Xavier, that at his first arrival in Japan, he met a prince whose heraldic mark was a cross argent, though he was totally ignorant of any thing connected with christianity.—Ed.

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The military uniform of the Japanese soldiers consists of short, wide breeches, and a jacket, over which they hang armour upon the breast, back and arms. Even the thighs from the waist down to the knee, are cased in armour. Over the armour they wear the chauri, but not in battle. On their heads they wear large lackered hats, which like the armour are of metal. The Japanese, also use vizors to protect their faces from the blows of their adversaries. The Japanese military dress is on the whole, heavy, and hinders the soldier from acting with proper rapidity

The soldiers receive their pay in rice; only in the islands of Matsmai, Kunsaschier, Eetooroop and Sagaleen, they receive part of their pay in rice and part in money. They generally sell the greater part of the rice, in order to provide themselves with other necessaries. The soldiers of the princes are better paid than those of the Emperor; but the latter have several privileges.

I do not know whether it is a constant practice in Japan; but during our residence in the island of Matsmai, the soldiers were frequently exercised in firing, both with cannon and small arms; and he who hit the mark twice running, received a reward. The Japanese assured us, that this was their constant rule. I am rather inclined to think, that they were at that time preparing for war, for as they had taken us prisoners by treachery, they

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could not but expect that Russia must come to an understanding with them, in some way or other.

There are no permanent generals in Japan; if a war breaks out, the Emperor appoints the principal commanders, and the princes name the others. This was the custom in Russia, till the introduction of regular troops. The Japanese commanders are called by the general name of Taischo, with the addition of other titles, to distinguish their rank and authority. The chief commanders are generally princes; the others are chosen from among the nobility, and civil officers. For this reason, no comparison can be made between the rank of the military and civil officers as is the case with us.*

In engineering, the Japanese are as inexpe-

* There are also states in Europe where this comparison cannot be made; for example, in England, where the secretary of state, the first lord of the admiralty, the first lord of the treasury, and others, generally have no rank. In Japan on the contrary, all the civil officers have a rank, which they retain when they are discharged from their office. If they are employed in the army, they receive according to the determination of the Emperor, or the Princes, a command in which their rank is not considered. The civil officers, after the governors, follow in the following order:—

I. Ginmijagu, (Counsellors): they are commanders in the great cities of the imperial provinces, except in those where there are bunjos.

II. Schrabijagu, assistants of the Ginmijagu; from among them are chosen the judges, in civil and criminal causes, and the commanders of the smaller cities, sea-ports and frontier fortresses.

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rienced, as in other branches of the military art. The fortresses and batteries, which we saw, are so foolishly constructed that it appears not only that they understand nothing of the rules of the art, but that they are probably wholly deficient in experience and sound judgment. The battery, which is designed to defend the entrance of the harbour of Chakodade, is mounted with cannon of very small calibre, and is situated upon a mountain which is 150 fathoms perpendicular, and besides pretty far from the shore. In making this battery the engineers seem not to have so much intended the defence of the harbour as of the artillery-men.

III. Motezmi; treasurers of the provinces, who have under their care all the effects belonging to the crown.

IV. Sschtojagu; commanders in small places and assistants to the commanders in large ones: things of inferior importance are intrusted to them. Officers of this rank had the superintendance of us; and when we were removed from one place to another they commanded the escort.

V. Saidschiu; secretaries to the chief of the chancery.

VI. Saidschiu-Tstomigada, assistants to the secretaries, or under-secretaries.

The first five classes, have the right to sit in the governors council, when important subjects are discussed. When we were examined before the governor, they were always present, and seated according to their rank. Besides those classes, the Japanese have others still lower, not only under the serjeant (Kumino-Kaschra,) but also under the soldier (Dossin), such as Jama wari, Tagagada (falcon-bearer) and others.

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Before the Japanese government forbade its subjects to sail to foreign countries (at the end of the sixteenth century), the Japanese had a fleet,* which, it is true, did not much resemble the European fleet. Their ships were large, furnished with but a few guns, and capable of containing many armed men. The construction of them was not at all adapted to the ocean, and their tackling was still worse. They had, as is still the custom on board the merchant ships, only one great mast and an immense sail. Japan has now no ships of war, except some pleasure yachts belonging to the reigning princes. Merchant ships are not permitted to carry any cannon; this privilege is confined to the emperor's ships, which alone are allowed to be painted red.

If the Japanese government desired to have a navy, it would be very easy to build one upon the European system, and to bring it to the greatest perfection. They need only to invite, into their country, two or three good naval architects, and some naval officers. They have good

* Melchior Nunez, the Jesuit, who wrote to the general of the order in 1555, declared that the Japanese were so expert in naval tactics, and possessed such a powerful naval force as completely to defeat, and nearly to destroy in the space of a month, a Chinese armada of two hundred and eighty sail, manned by ten thousand troops and seamen.—ED.

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ports, all the necessary materials, a number of able carpenters, and very active and enterprizing sailors. The people in general are quick of comprehension, and ready at learning. The Japanese mariners, trained in the European manner, would soon make their fleets able to contend with those of Europe. It requires no little boldness to put to sea in such vessels as they now have:* if a storm drives them from the coast, the rudder and the mast always break, and the vessel is then at the mercy of the winds and waves. The winds prevalent in these seas blow either from the Japanese coast, or parallel to it; in these desperate cases, therefore, mariners can only expect either to perish at sea, or to be wrecked on a strange coast. If any one escapes, he can hardly hope to see his

* The currents off the Japanese coast must be a considerable drawback on the facilities of navigation, although by increasing danger and promoting circumspection, they tend much to improve the nautical character of their seamen; like our own north-country coasters. On several occasions Captain King found these currents to run at the rate of five miles per hour. Captain John Saris, who commanded an English ship, and visited Japan in 1613, observes that on falling in with that port, four large fishing boats, of about five tons each, came alongside. "They sailed with one sail, which stood like a skiff sail, and skulled with four oars on a side; their oars resting upon a pin, let into the poise point of them. They rowed standing, and much faster than the English."—Ed.

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country again, as no other has any intercourse with it. In this manner, Japanese ships have been wrecked on the coasts of Kamtschatka, and on the Aleutian and Kurile islands; and it is probable that many more have perished at sea. We were frequently witnesses of the activity of the Japanese sailors; it is wonderful with what dexterity they manage their great boats in the violent surf, and in the most rapid currents at the mouths of the rivers which fall into the sea, and where the effects of the ebb and flood are the greatest. From such sailors every thing may be expected. They are well paid for their dangerous and laborious services: but they are like the English sailors —spendthrifts; and lavish in a few days, in public houses and upon women, the money which it has cost them many months to gain, at the hazard of their lives.

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CHAPTER V.

Nations, which pay tribute to the Japanese; and Colonies.

About two centuries ago, the Coreans,* and the inhabitants of the Loo-Choo islands,† were conquered by the Japanese, who declared them subjects, and obliged them to pay a tribute, which the Japanese emperors now receive annually. This tribute is, according to the assertions of the Japanese, very inconsiderable; and is levied by the Japanese emperors, not so much on account of the profit, as to boast of their power. For this reason the heir of the throne of Corea must always live at the Japanese court, and serve as a hostage for the fidelity of that prince. The Japanese treat him well, and pay him all the honour due to his rank. The Japanese have a fortress on the coast of Corea, with a numerous garrison, to watch the people, of whom the Japanese have the more distrust as they are at the same time subject to the

* The Japanese call Corea just the same: the inhabitants Coreadsin.

† These islands are called, in Japan, Dschiu-ju-kiu. They lie to the south of Japan, under the 26° north latitude and 128½° east longitude from Greenwich.

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Chinese emperors, and pay tributes to them. The Japanese, to make themselves quite sure against the inhabitants of Corea, keep a large army in readiness on an island which lies between Japan and Corea, and has, on the south-west side, a strongly fortified town and a good harbour. This island is governed by an Obunjo, who has the same rank as the governor of Matsmai: the Japanese fortress on the coast of Corea is also subject to him. Though the Japanese emperors do not derive much profit from the tribute which the Coreans pay, yet the trade with Japan is very extensive. The Japanese receive from Corea, medicines, sweet potatoes, ginseng-root, ivory, and various Chinese productions; and give, on the other hand, salt and dried fish, shell-fish, sea cabbage, and some of their manufactures.

In respect to the inhabitants of the Loo-Choo islands, they not only pay a tribute to the Japanese emperors, but are even entirely subject to them; for though they have their own governor, their religion, and a high priest of their own, and are judged by their own laws, they cannot introduce any innovation, or form a connection with foreigners, without having received permission from the Japanese emperors.

The Japanese told us, that the Loo-Choo islands were very populous, and occupied a pretty considerable space. The Loo-Chooans are well

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disposed, mild and timid, and are more like the Chinese than the Japanese. Their language has some resemblance with that of China. The islands produce many plants and vegetables, which also grow in Japan and China. The Japanese give them metal-wares, japanned goods, salt and dried fish, sea cabbage, European goods, which are brought to them by the Dutch, and Chinese productions; and receive, in return, tea, tobacco, silk, cotton, and some productions of their manufactures.

The islands of Matsmai, Kunaschier, Eetooroop, and Sagaleen, may be called Japanese colonies; but for the honour of the Japanese be it said, that not lust of conquest and rapacity, but only necessity, forced them to settle on a foreign soil. About two centuries ago, a Japanese prince bought, from the natives of Matsmai, a part of the south-west coast of this island, and which is still called the Japanese country; and in which, in many Japanese villages, not a hut can be found which belongs to an ancient native. The Japanese call the other part of the island Ainu-kfuni, or the country of the Ainu: so they call the inhabitants of Matsmai.* The abundance of fish found on

* When the Japanese settled upon Matsmai the inhabitants called the island Einso-zi. The Japanese called the part bought by one of their princes by the name of Matsmai, after one of

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the coast of Matsmai induced the Japanese to treat with the natives, and to enter into conventions, to receive permission to establish fisheries on the coast; in return for which they gave them a certain quantity of necessary goods. In this manner did the Japanese spread, by degrees, over the whole island. The profit which the Japanese derived from this farming of the fisheries led them to trade with the islands Kunaschier, Eetooroop, Ooroop, and others, as also with the south part of Sagaleen.* The Japanese government farmed out

his titles, and called the north part of the island Einso-zi, or Einso. This Einso gave rise to the country well known to the learned world, which our geographers call Es-so, and about which they disputed and wrote so much, till La Peyrouse, Broughton, and Krusenstern assigned it its proper place. The other Kurile islands are in general called, by the Japanese, Toi-sma; that is: Distant Islands; but individually they have retained their Kurile names.

* So far back as 1612 the commerce with Matsmai must have been lucrative. In Saris's voyage there is an account of a Fleming, who went there from Firando, in a Japanese boat, where he sold pepper, broad cloth, and elephants' teeth; receiving in lieu, bars of gold and silver.

It is stated by several writers that the Japanese give the name of Jeso to the whole groupe of islands between Japan and Kamtschatka. Matsmai is the southernmost, and has been long subject to Japan: but in 1779, Kunashier and Zellany to the north-east, and three others, called the Sisters, were perfectly independent.—ED.

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this trade, in portions, to merchants; and in this manner they long traded with those islands, without forming a settlement, or thinking on conquest. By chance, they heard that the Russians had conquered the northern Kurile islands, and extended their possessions further to the south.* The Japanese then formed the resolution to make themselves masters of the south islands, that they might afterwards give no foundation for a war, or lose the fisheries, which were of so much consequence to them. The inhabitants did not know the real cause of the behaviour of the Japanese, and attempted to resist them, but were soon conquered, and made subject to the Japanese emperor. Since that time, the Japanese have built fortresses on the islands, furnished them with gar-

* The Hairy Kuriles are said to inhabit islands lying in the latitude of 44° north. They are described by Spanberg as having their bodies covered all over with hair. Their clothing consisted of a loose striped silk gown, reaching to their ancles; and in their ears they wore silver rings. An idea of their religion may be drawn from the fact that when some of them were carried on board of Spanberg's ship, they espied a live cock upon deck, and instantly fell on their knees before it. As they speak the same language with the other Kuriles, the cause of this extraordinary hairiness of body forms a curious subject of medical and philosophical inquiry. That the fact is certain, cannot well be doubted, since the authorities for it are both numerous and various. Their country is called *Nadeegsda*, but is evidently part of the ancient *Jeso*.—Ed.

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risons, and governed the natives as subjects of their emperor; but left them many privileges, of which more will be said in the sequel.

Several travellers doubt that the inhabitants of Matsmai, and the other Kurile islands, once formed one people; and affirm that the Ainu and the Kuriles have not the least resemblance with each other. I believe that the inhabitants of all the Kurile islands,* except some tribes on the southern half of Matsmai, are only one nation; and the following is the proof. The chain of islands, lying between the south end of Kamtschatka and Japan, was called Kurile† by the

* I reckon Matsmai among the Kurile islands; it is the twenty-second, and last from Kamtschatka.

† It was the opinion of Captain King, in his continuation of Cook's Third Voyage, that the population of the Kuriles was much diminished from its former state, in consequence of the fatal effects of the small pox in 1767. The inhabitants of whole villages were swept away. In 1779, it was computed that the whole of the inhabitants paying tribute to Russia, in Kamtschatka, the Koreki country and the Kuriles, did not exceed three thousand; nor can this be attributed to oppression, as we have Captain King's testimony that the Russian government, established over these countries, was mild and equitable, considered as a military government, in a high degree. The punishment of death, in all cases, had been remitted; but it must be confessed that the knout, in extreme cases, such as murder, was administered with such severity that few survived it. The tribute from the Kuriles was by no means excessive, as one sea-otter's skin was sufficient for several persons.—Ed.

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Russians, because they saw, from the coast of Kamschatka, the smoking volcanoes which are on those islands, and called them Kuriles from the Russian word Kuril,' to smoke.* The natives have no name for the whole group, but merely for the single islands, and perhaps because they formerly knew no other country but their islands, and even took Kamtschatka and Japan for small islands.† The Kuriles of all the islands, including Matsmai, call themselves Ainu, which sometimes signifies, in their language, man: to distinguish the inhabitants of the different islands, they add to every word the name of the island, as, for example, Kunaschiri-Ainu, Iturpu-Ainu, &c.; that is, people from Kunaschier, Eetooroop. But when they saw for the first time foreigners, they seemed to doubt whether they were Ainu, *i. e.* man; for they did not give them this title, but called them after the name of the strangers: Rusko, Russians; and Niponno, Japanese. They know only these two na-

* From the information of a Russian missionary it appears that the Kuriles are a friendly, hospitable, generous, humane race of people; extremely well formed, docile, and quick of understanding.—Ed.

† The inhabitants of the islands in the South Sea merely have a name for every island, not for the group or the Archipelago, as they do not suppose any other countries existing; their clusters of islands do not therefore want to be distinguished from others.

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tions. The language of the inhabitants of all the Kurile islands, except some tribes on the south part of Matsmai, is alike, with the exception of such words and the names of things as the northern Kuriles first got from the Russians, and those of the south from the Japanese; for with the use of these things the former introduced the Russian, and the latter the Japanese names. With respect to the inhabitants of the southern half of Matsmai, it is observed, that though there are many foreign, particularly Japanese, words in use in their language, it was originally Kurile.* Alexei, the Kurile, our companion in imprisonment, frequently conversed with them, and though he had difficulty in understanding them, yet it never happened that he did not comprehend them, after some explanation; in a word, the languages of the inhabitants of Matsmai, and of the other Kurile islands resemble each other much more than the Russian and Polish. The appearance of the inhabitants

* In *Paramousir* the natives believe that their ancestors came from an island farther south, which they call *Onecutan*; but the northernmost are a mixture of Kuriles and Kamtschatdales. Paramousir was seen by Cook's companions, after his death; and is described as very high, and in the month of October entirely covered with snow, with a high peaked mountain that had the appearance of a volcano.—Ed.

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of Matsmai, and of the other Kurile islands, shews clearly that they are of one race: the features, the uncommonly brown colour of the hairy body,* the black shining hair, the beard, every thing, in short, indicates a common origin. The only difference between them now, is, that the Ainu of Matsmai are handsomer, stronger, and more active than the Kuriles, to which perhaps a more active life and abundance of good food have greatly contributed; for the Japanese have traded with them for these four centuries, and bring them not only rice but even articles of luxury, such as tobacco, sagi, &c. The other Kuriles, particularly the northern ones, live in indigence, feed on roots, sea animals and wild fowl, of which they indeed never are in want; but idleness often hinders them from collecting a proper stock, so that sometimes they pass several days without food, in indolence and sleep. Even their manners shew that the Ainu and Kuriles are one people.

The Kuriles dependant upon Russia are, in-

* The Russians call the inhabitants of the northern islands Kuriles, and those of the southern Hairy Kuriles; because their body is entirely covered with hair. Yet the northern Kuriles are not less hairy than the southern. Our Alexei, who was born in one of the northern islands, was more hairy than many inhabitants of Matsmai.

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deed, baptized, but have no other idea of religion than that they must cross themselves in the presence of the Russians, and bow before the images of the Saints, which they, at other times, probably throw, with the crosses, into a corner, or give to their children to play with. If they see any Russians, they put on their crosses, and give the images the place of honour in their huts; it can, besides, be neither required or expected that they should be attached to a foreign religion, in which nobody instructs them. The priests visit them once a year, and that not always. They see hardly any Russians but Promyschlenniks (hunters); rude men, addicted to drinking; whose conduct and cruel treatment of them inspire them with no advantageous opinion of their religion. Hence the Kuriles, though they pretend, before the Russians, to know no religion except christianity, are still attached to their ancient faith. Our Kurile, Alexei, would not confess that his countrymen do not highly honour the christian religion; but merely said, that the old people consider the faith of their fathers to be the true religion; and that resembles that of the inhabitants of Matsmai: of which I shall speak in the sequel. Among an unenlightened people, young persons will certainly not honour what the old despise. In trifles the Kuriles like to imitate us: thus, for example, they shave

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their beards, and wear long tails. The Ainu,* on the contrary, wear their beards, and cut their hair like the Russian waggoners, only something shorter. Our Kuriles wear Russian dresses of all fashions, as they receive them; for the Ainu, on the other hand, the Japanese prepare a certain dress, according to the Japanese cut, and of hempen cloth, which resembles our coarse unbleached sail cloth. The Elders receive cotton and silk dresses. If one among them particularly distinguishes himself, the Japanese government reward him with a splendid dress, embroidered with gold and silver; or with sabres in silver scabbards. The Kuriles and Ainu love to ornament themselves with trifles; which the former receive from us, and the latter from the Japanese: but it is still the custom for the women to paint their lips and eye-brows blue. Their expressions of civility, songs, dances, &c. shew the common origin of the Kuriles and of the Ainu.

When the Japanese subdued the Ainu they left the most important rights of man inviolate: free exercise of the religion of their forefathers; their own laws and administration; their own

* So I call the inhabitants of the southern Kurile islands, who are dependent on the Japanese, to distinguish them from our Kuriles.

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dress and customs in social life. They allowed them to live in separate villages, under the government of chiefs, chosen by themselves and confirmed by the Japanese officers.

The government has ordered that the Ainu shall not work for any Japanese, not even for the crown, without payment. For every kind of work a price is fixed, with which they are, however, not satisfied, because it is not answerable to their labour.

The Ainu live, in winter, in what are called Jurten, or huts of earth; and in summer, in straw huts, in which they have no benches or seats, but sit on the ground, either on the grass or on Japanese mats. Their food consists of rice, which the Japanese supply them with; of fish, sea animals, sea cabbage, wild herbs and roots. Many have gardens in the Japanese fashion; others employ themselves in the chace: they kill, with their spears and arrows, bears, deer and hares; catch birds, and also eat dogs.

The Ainu are, in general, extremely uncleanly. We often saw, with disgust, that they took little animals from their hair and cracked them between their teeth like nuts. They never wash their hands, faces, or bodies, except when they have to go into the water to do some work: they never wash their clothes. In this particular

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therefore they are very different from the Japanese.

They receive their clothing, as I have said before, from the Japanese; but, in winter, they wear fur cloaks, made of the skins of the animals which serve them for food; particularly those of bears and dogs: wearing the skin outwards.

Polygamy is allowed among them; they have two or three wives, and the Elders still more. If it happens that an Elder governs several villages, he has a wife in every village. Their children learn nothing except hunting, fishing, the use of the bow and arrow, and the necessary domestic labours. They have no writing, and consequently no written laws; every thing is handed down by tradition from one generation to another.

They live in admirable harmony with each other; and are, in general, mild and good hearted, hospitable, officious and polite. To salute any one they put both hands, with spread out fingers, to the face, let them sink slowly on the beard; bend, at the same time, the head a little; look the person sharp in the face, for whom the compliment is intended; and repeat it two, nay even three times, if they do it to a distinguished person. The total want of words of abuse in their language, is a proof of the mildness of their manners. Our Kuriles told us that if they are angry with any-

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body, they call him a clumsy or aukward fellow; if they want to abuse him still more, they call him a fool; a thorough rogue they call a dog. When a Kurile is so out of temper that all this does not satisfy him, he has recourse to Russian words of abuse, which were introduced to them by the Promyschlenniks.

They sit in the same way as the Japanese, *i. e.* cross-legged, like our taylors. They are great friends of tobacco and strong liquors; of the former the Japanese sell to them as much as they please, but the latter only in a limited quantity, which nobody dare exceed, that these dangerous liquors may not bring sickness, discord, and crimes among them.

The Japanese government does not permit the Ainu to make use of powder and fire arms. Their weapons, therefore, only consist of sabres, spears and arrows. They often dip the last in the poisonous juice of the *ranunculus flammula*, and then the wound is generally mortal.

The Ainu have not a cheerful countenance, but seem very melancholy and downcast, yet they, however, love singing and dancing. The former is very disagreeable, and the latter consists merely in contortions of the body.

The sun and moon are their divinities. But they have neither temples nor priests, nor any religious law. They believe in two spirits the good

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the north part belongs to the Chinese and the south to the Japanese.

Of the climate, the productions of the soil, and the manufactories of Sagaleen, almost the same may be said, as what I mentioned of Matsmai; but on Sagaleen, according to its geographical situation, the winter is colder, and the summer is worse than in Matsmai.

The Japanese assured us, that the inhabitants of the south half of Sagaleen, whom the Japanese call Karafta-Ainu, in many things resemble the Kuriles, and that this resemblance, particularly in their language, indicates that both were once, the same people. When I compared La Peyrouse's collection of Sagaleen words with my Kurile lexicon, I found that the great number of words, quite alike, put the opinion of the Japanese beyond doubt.

I find it impossible to state the population of the Kurile and Sagaleen islands, subject to the Japanese, because, those with whom we were acquainted did not even know it themselves. I think it foolish to fix a number by guess or supposition. The same may be said of the revenues of the Japanese Empire.

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ACCOUNT

OF THE

VOYAGES

OF

MESSRS. CHWOSTOFF & DAWIDOFF.

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ACCOUNT

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OF

MESSRS.

CHWOSTOFF AND DAWIDOFF.

THE frequent mention, made in Captain Golownin's Narrative, of the names of Lieutenants Chwostoff and Dawidoff, and of the unjustifiable and unauthorised attack stated to have been made by them on the Japanese, which led to the captivity of Captain Golownin and his companions, must naturally give the reader a very unfavorable opinion of those officers, and make him curious to know what inducement they could have to act in a hostile manner towards a nation at peace with the Emperor their sovereign, without any authority for so doing. As neither of these officers lived to publish an account of their proceedings, and the notes left by Dawidoff were so imperfect, that much time would be necessary to put them in order, the only information we have hitherto on the subject is from the introduction prefixed, by Vice-Admiral Schischkoff, to the account of a previous expedition of Messrs. Chwostoff and Dawidoff, which he has edited from the notes of Dawidoff. From this preface it appears, that these two

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young men were officers of the highest character, that they were under the immediate orders of Mr. Resanoff who planned the hostile expedition against the Japanese, and gave them detailed instructions for carrying it into effect, and that they had every reason to suppose, that the plan had been laid before the Emperor, and approved of by the government. Nay, Admiral Schischkoff does not state that Resanoff deceived them, when he said, he had dispatched a report on the subject to the Emperor and to count Romanzoff; so for aught we know, it may have been approved by both: it evidently results at least, from the account given by the admiral, that no blame whatever, was attached by the Russian government to Messrs. Chwostoff and Dawidoff for their conduct in this affair. Our readers, we are convinced, will peruse with interest the account of these two young men, and lament the unhappy event which deprived their country of their services. Of the journey to which Admiral Schichkoff's preface is prefixed, we shall extract a few of the most interesting particulars :—

Nicholas Alexander Chwostoff, the son of a counsellor of state, was born on the 28th of June 1776, and began his career in the corps of marine Cadets, so early as the year 1783. His first campaign was against the Swedes. In the 14th year

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of his age he was present at two great naval battles, and obtained a gold medal. When peace was concluded with Sweden, he received a commission in 1791, and after some voyages in the Baltic, went in 1795 to England, on board the squadron commanded by Vice-Admiral Chanykoff, the destination of which was to cover the English coast. After the lapse of a year, the squadron returned to Russia; but, when it had only reached Copenhagen, a part of it under Rear-Admiral Makaroff had orders to return to England, whither Chwostoff accompanied it. This part of the squadron remained another year in England, and then returned to Cronstadt. The following summer, that is in 1798, another squadron was fitted out, to act in union with the British fleet against the common enemy, the French and their allies. The command of this squadron was given to Vice-Admiral Makaroff. Chwostoff did not let slip this opportunity to visit England for the third time. This expedition lasted nearly three years.

When the English squadron, under Vice-Admiral Mitchel, took the Dutch fleet in the Texel commanded by Rear-Admiral Storey, two of our ships the Mstislaw and the Retwisan, were with the English squadron. Chwostoff, who was then lieutenant, was on board of the latter. The misfortune which then happened to some of the English vessels, and to the Retwisan is well known. Chwos-

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toff contributed not a little to save the ship, and during the moments that they had destruction before their eyes, he wrote to a friend: "Our situation is intolerable; all the ships sail by us, while we are aground, and serve them as marks to avoid the danger. Our hope of sharing in the battle, and in the capture of the Dutch fleet, has vanished. In our vexation we abused the pilot and loaded him with reproaches, but he was already half dead. An English ship, the America, is also aground, and this is some consolation to us. Though we ought not to rejoice at the misfortunes of others, we have several motives for doing so: at least the English will not now say, "that only a Russian ship ran a-ground: and perhaps Mitchel will not give battle without the two ships; we shall then make haste to get afloat again, and share his laurels." This in fact happened; notwithstanding the dreadful situation in which they were during the night, they succeeded in getting themselves afloat in the morning, when they placed themselves in order of battle with the others, and prepared with their half foundered wreck, to combat the enemy. The behaviour of this young man, on that occasion, sufficiently proves his presence of mind in the midst of fear and confusion, and his ardent love of glory.

After his return to Russia, he was obliged to live a year and a half in one place, because no op-

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portunity offered to distinguish himself. Notwithstanding his attachment to his parents, and to his brothers and sisters, and the happiness he enjoyed in their society, he did not feel himself born to pass his life in repose and inactivity. He looked with impatience for an opportunity which should open him a way to some bold undertaking. Extraordinary attachment to his relations, and boundless thirst of glory, were the principal features of his character.

His father had been deprived of his property, which was not considerable, by a law-suit, which had lasted twenty years, and lived in indigence with a numerous family. The son, without acquainting any body with his purpose, sought for an opportunity to meet with the Emperor, he threw himself at his feet, and begged his Majesty to deign to cast a look on his poor parents. The Emperor, astonished at seeing an officer in this attitude, thought that his own necessities had compelled him to take such a step, and ordered him to rise and compose himself. A few hours after a present of 1000 roubles was brought him from the Emperor. He declined accepting the money, and requested the messenger to let the Emperor know, that as he had his pay, he was in no want of money, and had not ventured to solicit his Majesty's favor for himself, but for his parents, who were ruined by a law-suit. The Emperor being ac-

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cordingly informed of the truth, sent him an order to take the money. His Majesty made enquiries concerning the law-suit, and the situation of Chwostoff's father, in consequence of which, he granted him an annual pension of 1000 rubles.

The son, full of joy, sent the 1000 roubles which had been given to him, directly to his mother, who happened to be in the country, and had soon after, the pleasure to acquaint his father with the grant of his pension.

He satisfied in this manner, one object of his wishes, and had soon an opportunity to obtain the second. The chamberlain, Nicholas Petrowitsch Resanoff, one of the principal shareholders of the American company, (afterwards ambassador to Japan,) was personally acquainted with Chwostoff, and having heard his courage and abilities highly commended, proposed to him to go by land to Ochotzk, and thence with the ships of the American company to North America. Chwostoff immediately acceded to this proposal, and merely requested a delay of five days, that he might go into the country, and take leave of his parents. The same day he visited a friend, and met with the midshipman Dawidoff, a young, but very able officer. He related to them his intention of going to America, and inspired young Dawidoff, (he was not yet eighteen,) with a desire to accompany him. Chwostoff was pleased with his spirit,

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he took him to Resanoff, and both entered the service of the American company. They were at full liberty to do this, express permission having been at that time granted to officers of the navy, to engage in the service of commercial companies without quitting that of the Emperor. Chwostoff immediately went to see his parents. It is easy to imagine the surprise and affliction of his relations, particularly of his mother, who loved him tenderly. The parting was extremely painful, but to comfort his mother, he affected to be cheerful, and suppressed his tears and sighs, till he had torn himself from her embraces, and hastened away. Then nature resumed her rights, and he had gone but a short distance when he fainted, and on his recovering himself, a flood of tears came to his relief. Having staid only a few days at St. Petersburg, he sat out with his companion on his journey to America, the description of which is contained in the following work...." (of which we proceed to give an analysis.)

So many travellers have already published their itineraries from St. Petersburg to Ochotzk, and Kamtschatka, that we cannot expect to find much novelty in that of our young mariners. It is in fact an unadorned narrative, written by Dawidoff, who was then only eighteen years of age.

They left St. Petersburg on the 19th of April, 1802, and reached Moscow on the 24th, and Ca-

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sannon the 12th of May. From Ecatherinenburg, where they arrived on the 21st of May, they proceeded to Irkutzk, by the road which passes by Ishim, instead of that by Tobolsk, which is the most frequented, but 250 wersts longer than the other: the two roads join at Kainsk; in this interval there is only one town, that of Schadrinsk, 200 wersts from Ecatherinenburg; of this town Mr. Dawidoff merely says, that it is situated on the river Iset, which in that place divides into many branches, forming several islands.

The most important part of this itinerary, is that in which the author describes the new route from the river Aldan to Ochotzk, through a desert, which is traversed by the mountains of Stanowoy-Chrebet. As it was hitherto unknown, Dawidoff carefully notes all the stages and their distances, as well as the names of the large and small rivers, which it is necessary to pass and repass every moment. He describes, as far as the rapidity of the journey will permit, the nature of the soil, the form of the mountains, and even some of the productions of this rigorous climate. There are few journeys, where the traveller is exposed to so many hardships; scarcely any provisions can be obtained, except by the chace; travellers are almost always obliged to encamp, or rather to bivouac, for if they have not tents with them, they seldom can find any shelter, unless it

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be now and then a kind of straw roof set up on four posts, which is some defence against the rain; the insects are extremely troublesome, and great dangers are incurred from troops of exiles, who escape from the places assigned for their abode, and plunder and murder travellers. Our young mariners had two rencontres of this description. The first is related by Dawidoff in the following terms:—

"We had scarcely pitched our tent and made "a fire, when suddenly we heard two musket "shot close to us. Our Jakutschians (some of the "natives who attended them) immediately threw "themselves on the ground, and there appeared, "at the same moment, from different sides, seven "men, two of whom advanced directly towards "us, with their muskets aimed at us. We instantly "took up our muskets, which were quite wet. "Chwostoff, who could not immediately find his, "ran towards them with his sabre drawn, and ex-"claimed: 'What do you mean? How dare you "advance in this manner towards the Emperor's "soldiers? Lay down your arms or I shall give "orders to fire at you.' This bold language, "frightened the captain of the robbers; he or-"dered his people to lay down their arms, and "said: 'We see that you are soldiers, and do not "demand any thing from you.' The other rob-"bers also called out: 'Don't fire! don't fire!

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" The captain looked at Chwostoff with surprise, " and proposed to him to accompany him to his " tent, which he said was not above two hundred " paces distant. Chwostoff, not to show any fear, " said: 'Come!' They went to the tent, where " above ten robbers collected. One of them be- " came impertinent, and said to Chwostoff, strik- " ing him on the shoulder: 'You are but a boy, " and make so much noise!' Chwostoff, sensible " that this boldness might encourage the others to " further liberties, instantly took his resolution, " and gave the robber, with all his force, a blow " which laid him sprawling on the ground. He " then brandished his sabre and said: 'If you " will attempt any thing against me, it may cost " you dear; I will alone be a match for you, and " my companions are at hand.' The robbers were " confounded; the captain gave the aggressor a " reproof, and said: 'You have forgotten that you " are a Warnack (exile), but His Honor an Impe- " rial Officer!' He then made him fall at Chwo- " stoff's feet, and beg his pardon. Thus peace " was made with the robbers, who now, not only " gave up all thought of plunder, but even offered " us all they had, except sugar, which they said " they had found upon a merchant. We declined " their offers, and bade them beware of attempting " any treachery towards us. They assured us they " would not, and that they were not such robbers

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" as they were supposed to be; that they had run " away out of necessity, took from the merchants " only what was absolutely indispensible, and " could not prevail on themselves to kill any " body, except in their own defence."

The intrepidity displayed by Chwostoff, on this occasion, was exerted with the same success, some time after, in a rencontre with a still larger band of robbers.

Respecting the half-savage tribes which inhabit this extensive region, we find in Mr. Dawidoff's narrative numerous particulars, some of which perhaps are more interesting than new. The Jakutschians are a tribe remarkable for their good nature, simplicity, credulity, superstition, gluttony, uncleanliness and in general all their habits. The following account of their mode of proceeding towards the bears combines almost all the features of their character.

" When they meet a bear on their way, they pull off their caps and salute him. They call him Commander, Old Gentleman, Grandfather, and other flattering names. They humbly entreat him, to be pleased to let them pass, and assure him, that they will neither attack him, nor speak ill of him. If the bear does not listen to them, but attacks the horses, they fire at him, as if by accident, and then eat him with great delight. Meantime, they make an image, which represents Boenai (their

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idol), and bow down before it. While they are eating the flesh they croak like ravens, and say: "It is not we who eat you, but the Russians or the Tungusians; they too made the powder and sold us the muskets; you know we can make nothing of the kind." During the whole time they speak Russian or Tungusian, and break none of the bones; but when they have eaten up the bear, they collect them together, wrap them up, with the image of Boenai, in birch bark, hang the whole upon a tree, and take leave of the deceased in these terms: "Grand-papa, the Russians (or the Tungusians) have devoured you; but we have found you, and collected your bones."

The government of these people is extremely simple. As their whole wealth consists in their herds of cattle, and horses, they are obliged in order to have sufficient hay for their horses, to live in small scattered villages. Several of these villages form what they call a Nothschleg, which is under a magistrate, called a Knaes or Knaesetz: several of these Nothschlegs form an Uluss, governed by a Golowa. The inhabitants of a Nothschleg elect their Knaes, and honor him as such, as long as he governs well, and demand nothing superfluous; in the contrary case, they choose another: but however, they always pay particular respect to the old Knaes. They once deposed a Knaes, who had received a gold medal and a velvet cloak from

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the Emperor Paul. On his objecting that they ought not to treat him as they did the others, because he bore about him the insignia of the Imperial favor, they answered; those insignia were given you by the Emperor, and remain yours; but we dont want you as Knaes."

The Knaes of all the Nothschlegs choose one of their own number as Golowa; who must govern three years: but generally retains his office for life. The mode of election is by ballot.

Though the greater part of the Jakutschians are converted to christianity, they are still attached to their sorcerers, who perform in secret their superstitious rites; for if the priests are informed of it, they call the sorcerers before justice. The people however believe and fear them.

The fur trade on the North-west coast of America, which has become so important to the maritime powers, on account of the advantages which they derive from it, in their traffic with the Chinese, has long since engaged the attention of Russia. Being near to America, by its possessions on the east and northern extremity of Asia, it has long ago formed settlements in the Aleutian islands, and particularly on that of Kodiak or Kadjack, the nearest to the peninsula of Alashka, which forms a part of the new world. But the convenience of this situation has been hitherto

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almost counterbalanced by the rigour of the climate, by the difficulty of procuring subsistence, the consequent thinness of the population, and the almost savage state of this weak population, all of which disadvantages are met with in nearly an equal degree, both on the Russian coasts of Asia and the opposite shores of North America. The Russian Company, which is incorporated for the purposes of this commerce, had to contend with another obstacle, namely the unskilfulness of the seamen employed in it, when the Ukase of the Emperor Paul was issued, allowing the officers of the Imperial Navy, to enter into the service of the Company, still retaining their rank in his service and half their pay. It was in consequence of this Ukase, as has been related above, that Messrs. Chwostoff and Dawidoff engaged in this expedition. Our travellers were scarcely arrived at Ochotzk, when they found how important a service Mr. Resanoff had done to the Company by engaging them. The Elizabeth, which was to convey them to America, was arming, but it was necessary to begin all over again. The work could not go on well; the whole crew, with the solitary exception of the boatswain Semtschin, who was a good seaman, consisted of siberian hunters, collected from all parts of Siberia, who had never seen the sea; the ship was built of wood, felled in the winter; the tackling was bad, the pullies, and

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other mechanical aids, rather impeded the work than facilitated it.

At length, on the 21st of August, the ship was ready and they set sail. Things were still worse now than before. They ran aground twice before they could get out of the river Ochota. The crew of the vessel consisted of 49 persons, of whom besides Chwostoff as commander and Dawidoff, only five were acquainted with the sea; thirty-five were hunters, two savages from the Fox islands, an American from the Peninsula of Alaska, a merchant's clerk, his assistant, and our two servants. With such a crew, on board an ill-constructed vessel, it was impossible to labour with success or to execute any difficult manœuvre. The carelessness of the crew of the Elizabeth was equal to their ignorance. In the passage from Ochotzk to America, fire broke out on board twice: and the second time it was in consequence of the malice of the mason who had built the stove at Ochotzk. The agent of the company at Ochotzk had deducted one rouble and 70 copecs from a sum that he had to pay him. The mason, in his vexation, had said, that he would take care to build the stove in such a manner, that they should not be able to make fire in it more than once. He had kept his word, and by this stupid act of revenge, nearly sacrificed the lives of a number of persons, who had never done him any injury: but

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what is the most remarkable is, that the hunters knew of it, and had not thought it worth while to mention it.

The passage from Ochotzk to Kodiak is about six hundred leagues, and the vessels rarely lose sight of land. The Elizabeth was two months on this voyage, during which she met with some severe storms, the danger of which was, of course, increased by the unskilfulness of the crew. Her arrival at Kodiak, on the 1st of November, 1802, was considered as a kind of miracle by Mr. Baranow, the chief of that settlement. A galliot, which sailed from Ochotzk the preceding year, had arrived only a month before them, and had informed him that the Elizabeth was building at Ochotzk, and would certainly arrive in the course of the next year, but not sooner; because the company's vessels were afraid to keep the sea so late as November, and were used to take refuge for the winter in some port.

Our readers will doubtless be surprised to hear that, for want of a map of the bay in which Kodiak is situated, our voyagers had resolved to coast it all round; but their ship had been descried from the coast; and Mr. Baranow sent two boats to meet them. But all this is nothing to the details which Mr. Dawidoff gives of the ordinary navigation of the company's galliots, built at Ochotzk, under the direction of a hunter or a

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cabin boy, who has not the smallest knowledge of ship-building. The commander is generally one of these hunters, whose whole merit consists in having already performed the voyage, in knowing the use of the compass, and remembering the course which they have to steer from one coast to the other. From their plan of keeping, if possible, always within sight of land, it may be supposed that their voyages must be tedious. The commander is besides afraid of remaining at sea after the beginning of September: as soon as this time comes, he lands in some bay or cove, chooses a place where the beach is sandy, draws his vessel on shore, builds earth huts for his crew, and supports them till July with the game or fish which they catch. It is not till July that he considers the navigation safe. There have been instances of ships from Ochotzk not reaching Kodiak till the fourth year after their departure. Our voyager relates adventures that have been experienced by some of these galliots, which have the appearance of fables; but his journal having been printed by order of the Russian Admiralty there is every reason to give them credit.

"Such events," says Mr. Dawidoff, "are not at all uncommon. These modern Argonauts who sail to America in search of furs, deserve more admiration than Jason's Argonauts; for with equal ignorance and equal want of resources, they have

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to navigate much more extensive and unknown seas. To their total ignorance of navigation must be added the want of subordination; for the hunters had not the smallest respect for their commanders, frequently beat them, and confined them in the cabin. If they had been for sometime without seeing land, they consulted together, deposed their commander, confined him, and chose another. If they see land they rush upon it, (it can hardly be called by another name) and every where draw the vessel on shore. As Chwostoff and I were the first officers who entered the service of the American Company in consequence of the imperial ukase, it may easily be imagined with what difficulties we had to contend, what want of every thing we experienced, what deeply rooted prejudices we had to eradicate."

We have seen that the arrival of the Elizabeth in two months, from Ochotzk, at Kodiak, appeared miraculous to Mr. Baranow: it was in fact a miracle of which he stood in great need. Our author paints this commandant as one of those extraordinary men whose energy, perseverance, disinterestedness and genius seem destined by Providence to promote the welfare of the governments and companies who employ them, by surmounting all the obstacles which negligence, indolence, and egotism almost always throw in their way. For twelve years he had contended, on that inhos-

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pitable coast, with the climate, famine, the depraved character of the Russians under him, and the ferocity of the savages, his neighbours. Left entirely to his own resources, he had succeeded, by his firmness and presence of mind, in inspiring with respect for his name all the barbarous tribes that inhabit the north-west coast of America, as far as the straits of Juan de Fuca. But respect is not always a sufficient restraint upon savages. From the very first arrival of the Russians upon their coasts they had conceived a notion that this new nation was not more numerous than their own, and they therefore imagined that it would be easy to dispatch them all. In the beginning of this summer, the Kaluschians, one of the most savage of these tribes, who inhabit the north-west coast of America, from Behring's Straits to the island of Sitka, and beyond it, had attacked and destroyed the Russian settlement at Sitka, and massacred the garrison as well as two hundred islanders of Kodiak, who happened to be there, and shared the fate of the Russians. The inhabitants of Kodiak, thinking they had now seen all the Russians, were much inclined to follow the example of their countrymen; supposing that they had only to kill these last Russians to be for ever free from the yoke. It was in vain that several children were sent to Irkutzk to learn some trade, who, on their return, assured their countrymen

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that there were a great many Russians; the savages would not believe them, and looked upon them as being deceived or bewitched. Their belief was confirmed by the circumstance of some hunters having come to Kodiak the year before who had already visited that place. The inhabitants recognising their old acquaintance, were now quite persuaded that they had seen all the Russians in the world. The arrival of the galliot, which we have mentioned above, and then of the Elizabeth undeceived them, and restored tranquillity at Kodiak.

But this was not the only advantage which Mr. Baranow derived from the opportune arrival of the Elizabeth. "In the magazines of the American Company at Kodaik, there were 16,000 sea otter skins, besides other furs, which had been accumulating there for five years, because in that space of time no vessel had arrived which was fit to receive so valuable a cargo. Mr. Baranow was unwilling to confide it to an ignorant hunter, to convey it to Ochotzk, and it was not safe at Kodiak, as it might become a prey to pirates, who were on the watch for it. He was therefore very happy at the prospect of sending this cargo by us next year. We, on our side, had the satisfaction of being able to remain the whole winter at Kodiak to gratify our curiosity, the prospect of a speedy return to Russia, and an opportunity of doing an important

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service to the company by the safe conveyance of a cargo which was estimated to be worth two millions of roubles. It was therefore agreed, that we should sail in May, so as not to arrive at Ochotzk before the 20th of June; for sooner than that time the coasts cannot be approached, on account of the ice which drives about them. This ice is brought from the bays of Jama and Gischiginsk, by the north-easterly currents common on these coasts."

Our voyagers therefore passed all this rigorous season in America, during which time they made various excursions in the surrounding country, and among the savage tribes that inhabit it: They left Kodiak on the 25th of June; and arrived at Ochotzk on the 22d of August. This passage, though as long as the first, afforded a fresh proof of the utility of their services, the discipline on board was better, and not the smallest accident occurred.

In the account of this voyage to America and back, we do not find any thing particularly interesting to navigators, except first, the discovery of an unknown rock, a little to the north of the island of Umnak one of the Aleutian islands, secondly the description of the best passage between the Kurile islands, which Mr. Dawidoff describes in these terms:—

"We sailed through the third Kurile straits; no better passage can be chosen between the Ku-

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rile islands, it is every where equally deep, nearly 5 German (20 English) miles broad, and the coasts which bound it are very observable. On the south-west end of Paramuschir is a high mountain, and near it is the island of Schirinki which resembles a hay-stack. Farther off is seen the island of Alait, which appears first when you come from the west side; after, only the summit of it is to be seen, rising above the clouds. On Onekotan there are two mountains like sugar loaves; westwards from this island, lies Mankaruschi:—Thirdly the description of two natural phenomena in these seas. The first which is called by the name of *Suloy*, is caused by the ebb and flow of the sea between the Aleutian islands, and appears to resemble the race of Portland, or the *ras de Marée*, which is observed to leeward of the little Antilles. The other is less known and more singular. It is a sudden swell of the sea which rises in very high waves. "These waves" says Dawidoff, "rise over certain rocks which are concealed under the water (*Potainiki*). The sea is generally quite calm in these places, but suddenly a mass of water rises which is very dangerous to the Baidares in boats. The people here say, on these occasions, *the Potainik plays*. We were assured by both Russians and Americans, that some of these potainiks, play once, some twice a day; others once a month, and some, even once a year only, and this always at a certain time.

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When there is a strong wind, the sea always runs very high over them. The canoes often sink, when they unexpectedly come upon the potainik when it begins to play. The Americans are generally acquainted and avoid them, even in calm weather."

As the Elizabeth was to unload and winter at Ochotzk, there being no new cargo to convey to America, Chwostoff and Dawidoff resolved to return to St. Petersburg. They accordingly left Ochotzk on the 23d of September, and arrived at St. Petersburg on the 3d of February following (1804.) Their return seems not to have been attended with so many dangers and inconveniences as their first journey; they travelled by the usual way, known by the name of the summer road: they suffered most from the cold, the thermometer of Reaumur being on the 7th of October so low as 28° below Zero.

Having thus after an interval of two years, happily returned from America, it seemed that their wishes were entirely gratified; they had performed a long journey, by land, had visited seas that were imperfectly known, had seen various countries and people: they had performed considerable services for the American company, and had returned home safe. As for gain, it had not been their object, and they returned in regard to fortune, as they set out. Chwostoff had however

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saved 800 roubles, which he wished to give to his mother, who would not accept them.

It was to be expected that they would now quit the service of the company, and enter again into the Imperial navy. Chwostoff's parents wished him to do this, but did not venture to advise him. Meantime, the american company who were highly satisfied with them, proposed to them a second visit to America; engaging to give them a double salary, namely, 4000 roubles per annum.

Two or three months passed in hesitation and uncertainty; at length the time approached when it was necessary to come to a decision, Chwostoff resolved with the same courage as before, but notwithstanding all his precautions to appear composed, it was evident that he dissembled, and that this second journey greatly agitated his mind. This mental struggle could not escape the penetrating eye of his mother and some near relations, who endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose before it was irrevocably fixed. He, however, always evaded their entreaties, put on a cheerful air, and shewed himself firmly resolved. His conduct appeared an enigma, since, if he had objections to the expedition, there seemed to be no sufficient motives to induce him to undertake it. He did not disclose the secret, till his agreement with the american company was irrevocably concluded. Two or three days before his departure, Chwostoff

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went to his parents, gave them the money which his mother had before refused, and delivered to them also a paper, which he begged them to accept. They took the paper and found that it contained an engagement, made by the american company, to pay annually to his parents at St. Petersburg, the half of the 4000 roubles due to him. His mother, overpowered by her feelings, attempted to tear the paper, burst into tears and exclaimed "How! will you then entirely sacrifice yourself for us?" He however interrupted her, and fell on his knees, saying: "hear me, dear mother! it cannot now be altered, I must be gone; I therefore beseech you, do not rob me of my only consolation; it will make me easy while I am far from you, and constantly put me in mind to take care of my life, since it can still be useful to you."

When every thing was at last settled, and he had made himself ready to set out with his companion Dawidoff (who would not quit him), Chwostoff seemed to feel a new interest in the journey. The reason was, that on his one day waiting upon the minister of commerce, the latter asked him, whether if an expedition were resolved upon, which required great exertions and an enterprising spirit, he should like to undertake it? Chwostoff replied, with his usual ardour, "the more dangerous it is, the more agreeable it will be to me."— This question inspired him with a hope, that

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some opportunity might perhaps be afforded him of distinguishing himself in an extraordinary manner. With this hope which flattered his leading passion, they set out on the 14th of May 1804.

It may be proper to mention here, that a short time before his return to St. Petersburg, the imperial counsellor of state and chamberlain, Resanoff, sailed as ambassador to Japan; with the Nadeshda and the Neva, commanded by captain Krusenstern. The reader knows from captain Krusenstern's narrative, that the Japanese government did not receive the embassy, declined entering into negociations for a commercial intercourse, and refused to let our ships enter their harbour.

Meantime, Chwostoff and Dawidoff arrived at the end of August at Ochotzk, whence they sailed for America on board of the ship Maria. This vessel having sprung a considerable leak, they were obliged, in order to save themselves, to enter into the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, where, on account of the advanced season, they remained to winter. In the month of May, in the following year (1805), the frigate Nadeshda, arrived there, with the ambassador Resanoff on board, after the failure of his mission to Japan. Here Chwostoff and Dawidoff saw the ambassador, and passed unconditionally under his orders. Soon after, Krusenstern sailed with his two ships, to return to Russia, but Resanoff staid to regulate the affairs of

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the American company, and went with Chwostoff and Dawidoff to America.

They visited the islands of Oonalashka, St. Paul, and Kodiak, and arrived at last in the harbour of new Archangel in the island of Sitka. Resanoff, in whose person the Russian ambassador had been insulted by the Japanese, here desired means to inspire them with greater respect for our flag, and to make them sensible, that if they lived in hostility and strife with us, they exposed themselves to feel the force of our arms; whereas, if they were on terms of peace and amity, they might expect numerous and important advantages from us. This he believed to be the only way to force them to amicable and commercial relations with us. This hope was increased by secret information which he had received during the time he was in Japan, that the spiritual and the temporal powers, were at variance with each other: the latter and the people, were inclined to receive the embassy and to enter into commercial relations with us; but the spiritual power had opposed it, and had prevailed. Consequently, the smallest support given by us to the temporal power, would reduce the spiritual to silence. Building upon this, he formed the following plan :—

Near to Japan lies the fruitful island of Sagaleen, the aboriginal inhabitants of which, are a different race from the Japanese. We once had a de-

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sign, (it may be about 60 years ago,) to form a permanent settlement upon it; but it is not known what became of the colonists who were sent thither. The Japanese took possession of this island, settled upon it, subjugated the inhabitants and treated them as slaves. Resanoff resolved to send an expedition to this island, to expel the Japanese from it, to destroy their settlements, to carry away as much as possible and deliver the rest to the inhabitants or consign it to the flames. We were to take the inhabitants under our protection, to distribute medals among their chiefs, and declare them Russian subjects. Some Japanese were to be seized, particularly the priest for the pagoda, with all the idols and sacred utensils. This he thought necessary, that the Japanese who were taken to Ochotzk might be treated as well as possible; their priest might perform divine service according to their own rites, and at the end of a year, they were all to be sent to Japan, that they might then give an account of the good reception they had met with from us, and inspire the people with some confidence in us.

Resanoff considered the trade with Japan not only as necessary, to open new sources of wealth, but as the only and indispensible means, to preserve our establishments in those barren and inhospitable regions. He thought that it was time to chastise the Japanese, for their offensive con-

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duct in not receiving our embassy, and to induce them to another line of conduct by force of arms. The plan having been formed, he had now to consider how to execute this important expedition. The following difficulties stood in the way: first the way to Japan is little known; secondly, though he presumed that the inhabitants of the island, and the Japanese settled there, were not warlike, yet their number might be out of all proportion to that of our people: thirdly, he could send only two ill equipped ships, with about 60 or 70 men, who were bad soldiers, consisting chiefly of fur-hunters of various descriptions. We shall immediately shew, upon what he chiefly founded his hopes in spite of all these difficulties.

Convinced of the advantages and necessity of this expedition, he caused two ships to be built for it, and wrote the following letter to Chwostoff and Dawidoff.—

" GENTLEMEN,

" Your first journey to America made me " acquainted with your bold, enterprising, spirit; " your happy return to Europe is a proof of your " talents; but your second journey hither con- " vinced me, how deeply the sentiments of true " patriotism are imprinted on your generous " hearts. I have also had the pleasure of making " some voyages with you, which have indelibly

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" impressed upon my mind the agreeable convic-
" tion, that an exalted spirit esteems the public
" good beyond every thing. The commander in
" chief of this country is animated with the same
" zeal, the same spirit, which our posterity will
" one day appreciate more than we do. This happy
" meeting together of some persons, who labour to
" promote one end has induced me to undertake,
" next year, an expedition which may perhaps
" open a new channel to commerce, furnish this
" part of the world with the necessary subsistence,
" and to secure them from want. For this pur-
" pose we want two armed vessels, a brig, and a
" tender. They may be built here, and I have
" already given my directions for this purpose to
" the governor. I must now observe to you, Gen-
" tlemen, that these first ships, for this first expe-
" dition, must have first-rate officers: as I am no
" seaman, I can only bear testimony to your exer-
" tions, your activity, and your success. Without
" attempting to penetrate deeper into this science,
" to which I am wholly a stranger, I can judge
" only by comparison, and by what I have seen,
" and I am convinced, that your journals fully an-
" swer my opinion. I shall not cease to have the
" highest respect for the great and noble actions,
" which in the eyes of all who love their country,
" place you among the most distinguished officers;
" I therefore now intreat you as my friends, who,

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" are ready to sacrifice themselves to the general
" good, to which we so willingly devote ourselves,
" to be ready to take the command of the vessels
" in question, and to divide it between you accor-
" ding to your rank; for this purpose to proceed
" immediately to examine the drawings which
" the master ship-wrights will exhibit, and when
" you have approved of them, take upon you to
" superintend the building, so that they may be
" ready at the end of April, and we be able to sail
" at the beginning of May. I know that many
" obstacles arise, but when was a great enterprise
" ever accomplished without difficulties? They
" cannot deter us, and only add to our honor. I
" do not think it necessary to express myself more
" at length respecting this expedition, for which
" I shall give you, in due time, ample instructions.
" The zeal of the workmen gives me hopes that the
" ships will be well built; the happy success of
" the undertaking is guaranteed by your experience
" and talents. I confess that I am impatient for
" the time which will call you to act; let us pro-
" ceed with united endeavours, to the execution of
" this great enterprise, and let us shew the world
" that, in our happy age, a handful of bold Russians
" can equal those prodigious actions, to which
" millions of other nations attain only in a succes-
" sion of Ages."

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" I have the honor to be, with the greatest " respect,

" Gentlemen,

" Your devoted Servant,

(The original is signed) " NICOLAI RESANOFF."

" No. 475, the 29th of August, 1805. On " the island of Baranow, Port of New " Archangel. To Mr. Chwostoff, Lieu- " tenant of the Navy, and Mr. Dawidoff, " Midshipman."

Every thing necessary for the Expedition being thus regulated, he dispatched, in the presence of Chwostoff and Dawidoff, a report upon it to the Emperor, and to the Minister of Commerce, his Excellency Count N. P. Romanzoff, to whom representing the advantages of this expedition, he wrote among other things, that he never could have thought of so bold an enterprise, had he not happily under his command Lieutenant Chwostoff, an officer full of fire, zeal, ability and unparalleled intrepidity.

Soon after the building of one of the ships was began, an opportunity offered to purchase the other, from Captain Wulf, who happened just then to arrive from the United States of North America. This ship, which was to be under the command of Chwostoff, was called the Juno; the new-built

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vessel, which Dawidoff commanded, received the name of the *Awos*,* in allusion to the enterprise.

Their stay in the island of Sitka lasted till the 25th of February, 1806. About this time the extraordinary scarcity of corn, which had had the most terrible consequences, obliged Resanow to undertake a voyage, on board the Juno, to California. This voyage took several months. They were extremely well received, by the Spaniards, and returned to New Archangel on the 9th of June, with a large cargo of corn, and put an end to the famine which prevailed there. At length, the Awos tender was ready, and all prepared for the expedition. On the 25th of July Resanoff put to sea, with the two vessels, intending to be present himself at the execution of the enterprise. But in a few days (on the 8th of August) he changed his mind, and delivered to Chwostoff instructions, giving him the same directions respecting the natives of Sagaleen and the Japanese which we have mentioned above: he engaged him, besides, to be answerable for the success of this expedition, which was undertaken amidst so many difficulties, and to make all concerned in it sign a promise not to disclose any thing, but observe the most pro-

* Awos means, in Russian, perhaps, probably, it is to be hoped.

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found secrecy. But he himself, notwithstanding his earnest desire to be a witness and partaker of their actions, in order that he might be able to report to his Imperial Majesty, from his own personal knowledge, was under the necessity, as the season was now advanced, of returning to St. Petersburg: he therefore gave the following directions: that Dawidoff should continue the voyage to Sagaleen and Matsmai, and there wait for the return of the Juno, either in Aniwa Bay or in La Peyrouse's Straits; and that Chwostoff, after having landed him (Resanoff) at Ochotzk, should sail to Aniwa Bay, join Dawidoff, and then proceed, together, to execute the instructions.

When the Juno arrived at Ochotzk, Resanoff left her, and ordered Chwostoff to be ready to sail at a moment's notice to his destination. Meantime he desired him to return the instructions, under the pretence of making an addition to them. While Chwostoff was every moment expecting orders to weigh anchor, Resanoff sent him the instructions, with the following addition. As soon as Chwostoff had read it, he hastened to Resanoff to ask him for some verbal explanation; but was informed that he had just left Ochotzk. The addition was in the following terms:—

"Upon your arrival at Ochotzk, I think it necessary to say something to you, respecting the instructions which have been given you. The

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defect discovered in the foremast, and contrary winds, delayed our voyage. The lateness of the season therefore obliges you immediately to hasten to America. The time for your junction with the tender, in Aniwa Bay, is already past; the fishery there being ended, a happy result is not to be expected. When I consider all the circumstances I find it necessary that, disregarding all the instructions previously given, you sail to America, to increase the garrison of the harbour of New Archangel. The Awos tender must, besides, return according to its instructions; but if the wind should allow you to put into Aniwa Bay, without losing time, endeavour to gain the natives of Sagaleen by presents and medals, and examine the situation of the Japanese settlements in that island. This alone, but particularly your return to America, will do you honor; the latter therefore must be the chief object of your exertions. You will give the same directions to the tender, in case you should meet with it. In general, you will doubtless find means to reconcile the unforeseen circumstances which may occur upon the voyage, with the interest of the company; and your talents and experience will doubtless tell you how this last direction may be best executed. On my part I regret extremely that this port does not afford means to change the mast, and that the concurrence of circumstances has induced me to change

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the place." September 24, 1806, No. 609. The original is signed Nicolay Resanoff.

It may be easily imagined how much Chwostoff must have been embarrassed by this indefinite and equivocal supplement to the instruction. First, Resanow sends the same instructions back, without saying a word to Chwostoff of the change in the expedition; consequently he must have intended it to be executed. Secondly, Resanoff could not of his own authority, and without an order from the government, change so important an expedition, which had been so long in preparation, and which had been already laid before the Emperor. But in the above addition to the instructions, he says nothing which can induce a conclusion that he proceeded in consequence of orders from the government; on the contrary, it seems that he merely puts off the expedition for various reasons which he assigns, and which make it necessary for Chwostoff to hasten to America: yet, at the same time, he commands him, if the wind will allow, to go to Aniwa Bay, &c.

We need not point out to the reader the numberless contradictions which Resanoff, by this strange conduct, left Chwostoff to reconcile. Another in his place would probably have chosen the easiest and safest course; but Chwostoff reasoned otherwise. "The expedition," thought he, "is unwillingly given up for a time, by Resanoff, be-

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cause certain circumstances render success, for this year, very uncertain. It is, however, evident that he wishes the execution : if I can succeed, in spite of these difficulties, the honour will be the greater, and duty itself requires that I do my utmost."

Actuated by these motives he sailed to Japan, but did not find the tender. Chwostoff was not deterred, but landed, to execute alone what he was ordered to do with the assistance of the other vessel. He executed one part of the instructions, took some magazines from the Japanese, loaded his vessel with the booty, and sailed to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, hoping to find the tender there, in which he was not disappointed. Dawidoff had been obliged to leave his post without waiting for the Juno ; because sickness had broken out among his crew, and his vessel had sustained much damage. They wintered at St. Peter and St. Paul.

Next year (1807), before the ice had left the coasts, they resolved to put to sea ; broke a passage through the ice for the vessels, and immediately sailed to Japan, to complete the enterprise which they had began. They reached Aniwa, fulfilled their instructions in the most punctual manner, loaded their vessel with considerable booty, and then sailed to Ochotzk, to report their proceedings to their superiors, to take from the magazines of the company what was intended for

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America, for the island of Sitka, and afterwards to proceed to New Archangel, to execute in this manner the last point of their instructions.

After the happy termination of this expedition, they joyfully returned to Ochotzk, where they expected to meet with honour and gratitude for their hardships and services. But a very different fate awaited them. Resanow fell sick on his journey, and died at Krasnojarsk. Captain Bucharin, commander of the port of Ochotzk, (who was soon after recalled, in consequence of numerous complaints) fancied that these vessels were laden with gold and great riches, and put them under embargo, under the pretext that the expedition had been undertaken without authority; at the same time, he threw Chwostoff and Dawidoff into prison, like state criminals. Every thing, even their clothes, was taken from them. During a whole month they were treated with daily increasing inhumanity and severity. They were separated, and neither knew the fate of the other. They saw that before the end of the five or six months, which must elapse before orders for their release could come from St. Petersburg, they must perish, miserably, from filth and hunger. In this melancholy situation, flight was the only means of deliverance. But how were they to escape from a strong prison where they were strictly guarded. Whither should they fly without

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food, clothes, or money? Jakutzk, the nearest town, is almost a thousand wersts from Ochotzk. But humanity thrives even in the midst of evil, and innocence obtains its protection. The two unfortunate young men had acquired, by their good conduct, the love of the inhabitants of Ochotzk: even the guard, who had to watch them with drawn swords, felt compassion for their unmerited fate. Chwostoff sent word, by his guards, to Dawidoff that he intended to escape, and fixed the time and place at which he would expect him. Dawidoff returned for answer, that his guards consented, and that he would meet him at the appointed time and place. Their strength was already exhausted; symptoms of disease manifested themselves, and they had reason to fear that they might perish on the long journey which they had to undertake; but the near and inevitable fate, which awaited them at Ochotzk, obliged them to choose the least of two evils.

The long wished-for night at length arrived; they fled from their prisons; leaving behind, for the justification of their guards, notes, in which they stated that they had given them opium. They met at the place agreed upon: their joy on the occasion may be easily imagined. They immediately commenced their journey; provided with two guns and biscuit, given them by some of the inhabitants, to whom they had discovered them-

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selves. For fear of being pursued they roved through woods and marshes, and over mountains, where human foot had never trod before. At first their courage failed them: they believed that some cavern would be their grave; but a higher hand led and supported them. The farther they proceeded the more did their courage rise. The pure air and the exercise, after two months severe confinement, restored their health and strength. But the length and the hardships of the journey, and the want of nourishment, again exhausted them; so that after suffering various hardships, emaciated by want, and covered with rags, they were scarcely half alive when they reached Jakutzk. Here the chief magistrate had already received orders from Ochotzk to stop them, and to examine *whether they had any gold about them*. These remarkable words were really contained in the letter to the magistrate. We may conclude from them how important the word gold was in the imagination of him who wrote them. He dreamt of finding some upon men who had barely saved their lives, and to whom a piece of biscuit must have been more welcome than treasures. In consequence of this order the magistrate detained them at Jakutzk. Soon after the governor-general of Siberia, who had heard of it, sent for them to Irkutzk. Meantime their letters had been received at St. Petersburg, and laid before the Emperor;

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upon which orders were immediately issued, by the minister of the marine, not to detain them any where. At last, after an absence of five years, they returned, in 1808, to St. Petersburg.

They had scarcely enjoyed two or three months repose, after their long hardships, when his Excellency Count Buxhövden, commander-in-chief of the army in Finnland, who had been informed of their return from America, and had heard much of their talents and courage, wrote to the minister of the marine, Tschitschagow, particularly requesting these two officers to be sent to him, to employ them against the enemy. The minister of the marine applied to them to ask their consent. The American Company was unwilling to part with them; but they both replied, without regard to their narrow circumstances and the hardships they had endured, that they were at all times ready to serve the Emperor and their country.

They immediately set out for Finnland and on the third day after their arrival there, embarked on board the gun-boats. The division under the command of Captain Seliwanow was sent against an island belonging to the enemy. It consisted of twenty gun-boats and one larger vessel: the fifteen first of which were under the particular command of Chwostoff, and the five others of Dawidoff. The actions of Lieutenant Chwostoff are sufficiently known from the official accounts. In the

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battle which took place, on the 18th of August, between the islands of Sudzala and Worzella, he was the chief cause of the victory over the enemy, whom they accidentally met with, and whose force was thrice as great as their's, as may be seen in the printed account of this battle; in which among other things, it is stated, "Captain Seliwanow re-
"ports to the commander-in-chief, with particular
"gratitude, the courage of the whole division,
"and bestows the highest commendations on
"Lieutenant Chwostoff, who is a model of incre-
"dible bravery. Regardless of the shower of grape
"shot, and not deterred by seeing four gun-boats
"sink under him, and of six rowers only one left,
"he continued to advance, and defeated the enemy.
"The same praises are bestowed on his courage
"by the commanders of the land forces. All those
"under his command extol him, and wherever he
"shewed himself his presence inspired every one
"with fresh courage."

It is well known that when the commander-in-chief heard the cannonade, and was thus informed of the approach of the superior force of the enemy, who was not thought to be so near, he gave up all our gun-boats for lost; but when the division returned, and Chwostoff brought the account of the victory, his joy went so far, that passing, just at the moment, by the principal guard, which turned out to present arms, he exclaimed,

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"Not to me, not to me—to the conqueror!" pointing to Chwostoff.

The detailed report, and the accounts given by the officers of the army present at this battle, of the heroic deeds of this officer, so greatly exceeded probability, that the commander-in-chief resolved to inquire of those immediately under him, and went, expressly for that purpose, to that part of the coast where the gun-boats lay. He addressed both sailors and soldiers, saying, "Tell me, friends, who was the cause of the victory?" To which they unanimously answered "Chwostoff."

The hand of Providence seemed to have protected his life in this battle. Four times the enemy's balls and grape shot destroyed the gun-boats under him; four times the waves covered him; yet he did not lose his presence of mind; was every where, and ordered every thing; animated the people, and commanded them to follow him. When the first gun-boat sunk under him, and he was taken up out of the sea, he went on board another, and his first word was "advance!" A ball having entered the prow of this gun-boat, and killed many men, the people, in the confusion, seeing the water enter, and not knowing how to stop the leak, were going to put about the vessel, when Chwostoff pulled off his uniform, ordered

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them to stop the leak with it, and exclaimed, "row forward!"

Actions like these gained him general esteem. Though not wounded he felt in his whole body the consequences of these exertions. The commander in chief allowed him, to live on board his yacht in order to recover himself; but he did not repose long. He soon went with Dawidoff to Vice-Admiral Messajedow who commanded, at another place, a fleet of galleys and other vessels. Here, exclusive of some dangerous and fatiguing expeditions, they were conquerors in two actions, on the 6th of September, off the island of Palwo, and the 19th of September off the island of Tevsalo. Chwostoff received the command of a pretty large division, with which, he every where defeated the superior forces of the enemy. Vice-Admiral Messajedow in his reports, speaks of him in the highest terms. Dawidoff accompanied Chwostoff every where, was slightly wounded in the foot, displayed on all occasions extraordinary bravery, and was also highly commended. After the conclusion of the campaign, towards the commencement of winter, the commander in chief, desirous of rewarding them for their distinguished services, took them into his suite, and let them go to St. Petersburg to remain there, for the recovery of their health, till they should be promoted.

On the 4th of October 1809, Captain Wulf

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arrived from the United States of North America. This was the captain of whom they bought the *Juno*, as related above, with whom they had sailed from the island of Sitka to California, and had always been on the most friendly terms. This captain and Mr. Von Langsdroff, who was also well acquainted with them, paid them a visit; and as the captain was to go to Cronstadt the following day, in order to return to America, they agreed to spend the evening with Langsdoff who lived in Wassilij-Ostrow. They accordingly met there, and staid till two o'clock in the morning. When they got to the bridge over the Newa, they found that it was open* As they wanted to be at home early in the morning, they were in haste to get to the other side. At that moment, (so the accounts say) a boat was passing through the bridge. It appeared to them easy to jump from the bridge into the boat, and from that, to get again on the bridge. But the attempt failed, and both fell into the water. The darkness of the night, the rapid current under the bridge, and a violent wind, rendered assistance impossible. The Newa had buried them in its waves.

Such was the melancholy end of these two highly distinguished and unfortunate officers. Their bodies were not found.

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* It is a draw-bridge. (See note, page 301.)

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After this short account of these two officers, I must mention in what state the work which I now publish was at their death. Dawidoff after his return from Finnland lived with me. I had several of his papers and letters to his friends, written at different times, from various places in America, and found many interesting particulars in them. I advised him to compile out of them a regular narrative of both his journeys to America. He objected indeed, that all the necessary materials, such drawings, plans, charts, remarks, &c., had been taken from them at Ochotzk, and were doubtless lost with all their effects. I however persisted, and by help of his memory and his remaining papers, he completed the narrative of their first journey and voyage, which being shewn to the Board of Admiralty, was approved and ordered to be printed. Only eight sheets were printed, when Dawidoff and his friend perished in the manner above related, so that he was never able to begin the account of the second journey and voyage. The only materials for the compilation of this, are detached notes and letters to friends; but all in such a state, that it will require much time, reflection, and pains to form them into a connected narrative. I preserve them, however, in the hope of being able in time, to put them together and publish them.

The reader will, perhaps, be glad to hear some

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particulars of the character and manners of these two officers, with whom I was very well acquainted.

Chwostoff united in his character two contrary qualities, the gentleness of a lamb and the fire of a lion. At home he was the most respectful son to his father and mother; in affliction or sickness, he never quitted them a moment, and was ready to sacrifice every thing for them. He was much attached to his relations and friends, and would readily have laid down his life for a friend, (even though the latter might not entertain the same sentiment towards him) when he had once become attached to him. In company he was fond of talking and disputing, but was very good tempered, and often bore offensive expressions, which his opponents had used in the warmth of dispute, without calling them to account for them. All knew his intrepidity, and the strongest and most daring of his companions, who were so formidable to others, though conscious of their superior bodily powers, (for he was of a middle stature, and but moderately strong) never ventured, if they saw the smallest symptom of anger in him, to provoke him any farther. To his superiors and commanding officers, he was respectful and obedient, but when it was necessary, he freely, though with modesty, expressed his sentiments. He was extremely obliging to every body, and so kind to the poor and

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needy, that he frequently gave away all the money that he had about him. Such was his character in the domestic and social circle. What he was in the field of battle, may be judged from what has been above related. Eye witnesses relate the following characteristic anecdote:—In the battle near the island of Tevsalo, he was sent with some gunboats to meet the enemy. He had approached within two cannon shot, and was preparing every thing for the combat, when a letter was delivered to him from his mother, in which she conjured him to think of her, and not expose his life to too much danger. On reading this letter he burst into tears. His people were astonished at this sight, and lost their courage: but the enemy's first shot is fired and his ardour returns.—One who had been under his command told me that, in the conquered places, his greatest care was to preserve the inhabitants from suffering any offence or violence from the victors. He was often sent to by night, or from distant places, to ask his protection, and he never failed to go himself, to hear the complaints and give satisfaction to the injured party. He perished in his 34th year, and therefore much under the age in which the Cooks and the Nelsons reaped their laurels. What hopes perished with him!

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Gawrilo Iwanowitsch Dawidoff was born in the year 1784, brought up in the corps of sea cadets, and made officer in 1798. In his earliest youth he was distinguished not only by remarkable acuteness of understanding, but also by extraordinary application. He acquired a considerable degree of literary and mathematical knowledge, so that he was the first on the list of 50 or 60 young men who were recommended that year, to be appointed officers. He was tall and robust, of a pleasing countenance, an agreeable companion, enterprising, resolute and bold, more fiery than Chwostoff, but not so firm. He possessed a lively imagination and a good understanding, read a great deal, was fond of amusements, conversation and company, but readily renounced them for dangers and enterprises. He was seven or eight years younger than Chwostoff, with whom he first became acquainted, as I have related above, on the occasion of their first journey to America.

They never separated after this, and even the hand of death seized them both at the same time.

NOTE.—Though nothing has yet been published from the papers of Mr. Dawidoff, except the account of the first journey and expedition from St. Petersburg to Ochotzk, and thence to the North-west coast of America, a particular account of the subsequent voyages both to the North-west coast of America, and thence to California to procure provisions, has been

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published by Mr. Langsdorff,* who had accompanied Captain Krusenstern, in his voyage to Japan, and arrived at the harbour of St. Peter and Paul at the time when Messrs. Chwostoff and Dawidoff were there with the Maria. Mr. Resanow wishing to have a physician with him, proposed to Mr. Langsdorff to quit the expedition, and accompany him on his intended expeditions. To this proposal he acceded, notwithstanding the regret he felt at leaving Captain Krusenstern, but animated with a desire of exploring countries hitherto but imperfectly known. The result of these researches have been given to the world, in the second volume of his highly interesting and instructive narrative. He quitted Sitka to return to Kamtschatka, leaving Mr. Resanow there with Chwostoff and Dawidoff preparing for the first expedition against the Japanese. Mr. Langsdoff was still at St. Peter and Paul, when first Dawidoff, and afterwards Chwostoff arrived there, as above related. Mr. Langsdorff gives some account of their proceedings against the Japanese, which he, like Admiral Schischkow, attributes to the Chamberlain Resanow, who says he "had, ever since his unsuccessful mission to Japan, borne the na-"tion no little grudge, and thought of revenging the affront by "sending a secret expedition against the Japanese settlements, "in the southernmost of the Kurile islands, on the plea, that "these islands as stated by Pallas, had been all previously taken "possession of by the Russians." Mr. Langsdorff speaks of Messrs. Chwostoff and Dawidoff, in terms of the warmest friendship and respect, and eloquently laments their unhappy fate, after spending in his house the last night of their lives. They had, he says, passed the bridge, and called to him and captain Wolf when they were safe over; but, for some unknown reason, must afterwards have attempted to return.

* A Voyage to the Aleutian Islands, and North-West Coast of America; and return by Land over the North-East parts of Asia, through Siberia to Petersburgh, a route never before performed. 4to.; Plates, 1814.

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